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The West Indian school leaver

A survey conducted on behalf of the
Department of Employment



Volume 2 The next five years

Ken Sillitoe and
Howard Meltzer

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Ken Sillitoe
and
Howard Meltzer

Volume 2 The next five years

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1 Introduction

In the first volume of this report we dealt with the leavers' initial transition from school to work. The difficulties they had finding suitable employment and the nature of the jobs they secured on first leaving school were examined in relation to their personal characteristics and family backgrounds, their general attitudes toward work and job aspirations, and the guidance they were given by teachers, Careers Officers and parents. The purpose of this second part of our report is to trace their careers over the ensuing five years, and then to present our final conclusions in the light of all our findings about the leavers' experiences from the time they first left school.

We have shown that many people were disappointed with the jobs they had first obtained. Often, this was because they had been unable to get the kind of work they had originally wanted, as they were under-qualified. In addition, West Indians had been seriously disadvantaged by discriminatory recruiting practices. Six months after leaving school, many were hoping eventually to change to more congenial work. Our examination of their subsequent work histories will enable us to observe to what extent those who had failed initially to obtain satisfying employment were more successful later. We shall also see whether the West Indians' eagerness to gain further vocational qualifications through part-time further education was ultimately fruitful in helping them to obtain jobs more commensurate with their ambitions and abilities.

In addition to examining the nature of their subsequent employment, their reasons for changing jobs, the ways they found new ones, and their lengths of unemployment, we have also explored some aspects of their experiences whilst at work. Thus, besides finding out how people felt about their jobs we also enquired about their relations with and their attitudes towards their fellow workers, supervisors and trades unions. The earlier analysis of ethnic differences in attitudes to work and to vocational training is also carried one stage further, by comparing

the leavers' own views after they had been at work for some years, with those expressed by their parents at the first interview. Finally, as in the first volume, we will examine the leavers' personal opinions about the incidence of discrimination both when seeking employment and whilst at work.

For details of how and when the data on these various topics was collected over the course of the three follow-up interviews, the reader should refer to Chapter 2 in Volume 1, and to the relevant interview questionnaires in Appendix IV.

In the next chapter we describe the ways in which the data were organised to facilitate the longitudinal analysis. Thereafter, our findings are presented in three parts. In the first, we outline our informants' employment histories over the full five years. The second deals with attitudes and behaviour at work. Then, in the last section we have summarised the general conclusions that may be drawn from all our findings contained in both volumes. This is done in three ways. Firstly, we have attempted to classify employment histories into a variety of 'career profiles' which illustrate the interactive and cumulative effects of the *longitudinal* trends emerging from the second part of our analysis. Then, we present a résumé of all our main findings, covering the whole period from when our informants first left school.

As in the first volume, certain topics not of immediate relevance to the main discussion, have been relegated to a series of appendices. These include, as before, response rates at each interview stage (and the effects of sample attrition over the five years of the survey on the representativeness of the final samples); ethnicity-of-interviewer effects; the construction of composite variables and indices; and the principal documents used for the follow-up interviews and their primary analysis. Reference will be made to these appendices in the course of the main discussion, where apposite.

2 Methods used

For an account of why a longitudinal design was adopted for this study the reader should refer to the introductory chapter of Volume 1. The methodology chapter in the first volume also gave a description of the overall plan of the survey, and details of the fieldwork programme (see Volume 1, Chapter 2). Here we shall confine our attention mainly to two topics: the method by which we dealt with sample attrition during the follow-up stages, and how the data was organised to facilitate the longitudinal analysis.

Replacement of losses

A particular problem on this survey was that if one member of a matched pair of leavers was lost during the follow-up stages, the other automatically became redundant, and therefore each loss of one from the matched samples during fieldwork represented a potential loss of two from our samples for analysis. Despite our endeavours to prevent avoidable losses in the course of fieldwork, had we permitted our sample numbers to have been further depleted in this manner they would have rapidly declined to the point where they were too small and unrepresentative to be worth pursuing any further. Consequently, it was essential to adopt further measures to mitigate the effects of these losses.

There was no means of replacing the West Indian casualties, as all the West Indians who were originally eligible for the survey had been already included in the samples. By carrying a reserve of (unmatched) white leavers with a wide range of characteristics, through all interview stages, however, we were able to retain a source of replacements for any matched Whites who were lost. This reserve group of white leavers consisted, originally, of persons who had been matched to West Indians at the first interview stage, but whose West Indian matches were lost during the first round of fieldwork because of non-contacts, refusals or ineligibility (see Volume 1, Appendix 1).

At the second and subsequent interviews, therefore, whenever a matched white leaver was lost from the sample an endeavour was made to find a suitable replacement from the reserves; the pool of potential replacements was then replenished by other Whites who became redundant when their West Indian matches were lost at subsequent interviews. When a lost matched White was replaced in this manner, the replacement's whole data file covering all interviews upto that point was substituted for that of the person whose place had been taken, for that stage of the analysis. Thus, there was a constant movement of Whites in and out of the sample during the course of the survey. Consequently, many West Indians had different White matches at consecutive interviews; but when

at a particular interview stage there was a need to compare employment histories or changes in attitudes over time, between two members of a matched pair, the data used for the purpose always related to the same two individuals.

It was not always possible, of course, to find a suitable replacement for a lost White match; this happened fairly rarely but when it occurred the West Indian had also to be relegated to the reserve pool, for that stage of the analysis, in the hope that a suitable White match would become available later. In addition, because of the restricted range of choice, the original requirement that the matched pair should, wherever possible, have been educated at the same school, had to be abandoned. Otherwise, the matching criteria were the same as before. This subsequent relaxation of the matching criteria, however, is unlikely to have had a material effect on the validity of the new matches, as many of the original matched pairs who had at first resided in the same school catchment areas had also, by this time, already moved to different districts. Furthermore, one of the main purposes of trying to obtain matches from the same school, originally, was to ensure that the leavers had mostly been assessed by the same teachers and Careers Officers: this was important to our analysis of the differential standards of assessment applied to Whites and West Indians in Volume 1, but was of much less relevance to their subsequent employment histories.

The effects of sample attrition

Despite our various endeavours, during fieldwork and through rematching, to resist the erosion of the analysis samples, substantial numbers were lost in the follow-up stages. After the first interview a third of the losses from the West Indian analysis samples were due to people withdrawing from full-time paid employment - the 'ineligibles' (see Appendix II). The loss of these people was of course unavoidable and simply reflected natural changes in the composition of the workforce over time: the remaining losses which were due to non-contacts and refusals were an artefact of the survey. However, regardless of the reason for the losses, if the people who were dropped from the samples differed appreciably from those who were retained this could affect the validity of the longitudinal analysis. For example, as it was found that the less educated were slightly more likely to be lost, this needed to be taken into account when comparing our findings in relation to educationally related variables, at different interview stages - regardless of whether their loss was attributable to natural causes ('ineligibility') or from non-contacts/refusals. To help control for the minor differences in the sex, educational and area distributions of the analysis samples during the follow-up

period, we have based the longitudinal analysis on the final sample at the fourth interview – rather than on the full sample interviewed at each stage. This has the disadvantage that it makes the samples for the earlier follow-up stages smaller, but ensures that the composition of the samples is identical at every stage. In addition, wherever possible, throughout both volumes of the report, we have always analysed the data by sex, educational level and area. When, therefore, we are comparing the leavers' experiences on leaving school (as reported in Volume 1), with their subsequent work histories, in relation to say an educationally related variable, we are able to examine the fortunes of each educational stratum separately. This helps us to control for the minor differences in the sex, educational and area composition of the samples on which the two parts of our analysis are based. It was only possible to do this for the Early Migrants and matched Whites, however. By the fourth interview the Later Migrants' sample was reduced to the point where it was no longer practicable to sub-divide it by educational level and area. Throughout the second part to the report, therefore, the Later Migrants' data could only be examined for sex differences.

Variations in the characteristics and magnitude of the losses from the samples of matched Whites and Early Migrants were largely compensated for by rematching, when necessary, at each interview stage, thereby ensuring that the Whites in the analysis sample always had the same sex, education and area of residence as the Early Migrants. As our subsequent analysis was later to demonstrate, however, the West Indians who were lost during fieldwork tended also to be slightly atypical in respect to two other factors: they were prone to be people who had a lot of unemployment, or a large number of jobs. Hence, the final West Indian samples were slightly under representative of persons in these two categories. Whereas, the Whites showed no evidence of a similar trend, because when such people were lost from the White sample during fieldwork they were automatically replaced. However, the effects of such losses on the composition of the West Indian samples was very small (see Appendix II).

Continuity

As we observed in our notes on methodology in Volume 1, it is one of the advantages of a longitudinal design that information can sometimes be cross-checked at later interviews. As a further precautionary measure, to ensure consistency, interviewers were equipped with 'Edit Sheets' containing information transcribed from the preceding interview questionnaire, about matters such as the date of the previous interview; the nature of the job the person then had, or if unemployed on the previous occasion, for how long the person had been unemployed; and details about the courses of further education being attended. This data was incorporated into the questions which were then asked on related topics, as an 'aide memoire' for the respondent and as a prompt to the interviewer to check that the subsequent answers were consistent with the earlier information we had been given.

Preparation of the data for longitudinal analysis

In addition to creating various composite variables and indices for each separate interview stage (details of which are given in Appendix III), methods had to be devised for relating together data collected on more than one occasion, but which pertained to the same topic. The table below illustrates some of the 'summary items' that were created for this purpose. It will be observed that these items are of five basic types, namely:

- (i) *Group profiles* which show the distribution of each group of leavers, in relation to various aspects of their employment, at each interview stage: for example, the leavers' occupations at each consecutive interview.
- (ii) *Cumulative records* which are also a type of 'profile', insofar as they show an historical progression, but differ from the 'group profiles' in that they summarise each individual's record at each interview stage: for example, whether the person had ever attended a course of part-time further education since leaving school (by the first, second, etc interview) and the nature of the course the person was currently attending.
- (iii) *Frequency records* which are akin to 'cumulative

Examples of summary items used to depict employment histories and changes in attitudes

When 1 variable was examined at 2 or more interview stages		When 2 or more variables were examined in conjunction at 2 or more interview stages	
Where information available from all 4 interviews	Where information available from 2 interviews only	Where information available from all 4 interviews	Where information available from 2 interviews only
Group profiles Example: Occupational distribution of leavers' jobs at each interview stage	Comparisons Example: Between the ethnic composition of the work-groups in which West Indians were employed, at the first and the final interviews	Group profiles Example: Job satisfaction, by occupational group, at each interview stage	Comparisons Example: Between degree to which jobs at the first and third interviews had the characteristics leaver thought most important
Cumulative records Example: Whether leaver had ever attended a course of FE and nature of course currently attending			
Frequency records Example: Total number of job changes			
Indices Example: Overall level of job satisfaction over survey period			

records', but differ from the latter in that a 'frequency record' summarises each leaver's record over the *whole period* of the survey: for example, the total number of job changes which took place between leaving school and the last interview.

- (iv) *Indices* which are similar to frequency records in that they show each individual's record over the full period of the survey, but summarise it in the form of his or her position on a 'scale' which is usually compressed into three positions, 'high', 'medium' and 'low': for example, overall levels of job satisfaction over the full period of the survey.
- (v) *Comparisons* which relate to information which was collected on more than one occasion, but not at every interview. Examples where such comparisons are made include the degree to which jobs at the first and the third interview possessed the features which each informant currently considered to be the most important; and the ethnic composition of the workgroups in which West Indians were employed at the second interview, as compared with the situation at the final interview.

To assist in creating some of these longitudinal summary items, the information collected over all four interviews about jobs, ambitions and further education was inspected manually to determine, for instance, whether the leavers' jobs were in keeping with their aspirations and whether the additional qualifications they had acquired were of practical value in the leavers' eventual occupations (see Supplementary Coding Schedule No. 2, Appendix IV). This task was done manually because it would have been impracticable to carry out some of the

operations on the computerised data, and also because it was more reliable to do the work manually, as a slight difference in the way a job was described might have led to it being differently classified on separate occasions, whereas if all the information was examined together in an historical sequence, such mistakes could often be avoided.

At the final stage of the analysis we have also attempted to distinguish a number of 'career profiles' which characterise the employment histories of each of our informants over the full term of the survey. For further details of these the reader should refer to the concluding section of the report where they are deployed - see Chapter 12.

In addition to using the data obtained from all four interviews to describe and compare the leavers' employment histories, the information collected at each interview can also be analysed separately. This latter type of analysis is equivalent to treating the four interview stages as four separate surveys, enabling one to describe the situation of each ethnic group at four points in time, thereby complementing the longitudinal analysis whose purpose is to attempt to summarise their experiences over a period of time. This, of course, is the way in which the data obtained in the first interview with the leaver was analysed, in conjunction with information collected from parents, teachers and Careers Officers, in Volume 1. In addition, in the follow-up interviews with leavers, in some instances, as with the leavers' attitudes toward and membership of trade unions, this was the only method of analysis possible, as the topic was discussed with the leaver on only one occasion.

Part I Employment histories

3 Jobs and pay

In the following examination of changes in occupational distributions during the first five years after our informants left school, we have based the analysis, at all stages, on the sample remaining at the final interview. This procedure, as we explained in the general discussion of our methodology for the longitudinal part of the study, ensures that the constitution of the analysis sample is identical at all stages, which helps to control, in conjunction with the further cross-breaks by sex, educational level and area, for changes (resulting from sample attrition) in the constitution of the interviewed sample at each follow-up stage (see Chapter 2 and Appendix II). We shall examine the characteristics of our informants' employment in the same manner as in Volume I, when we looked at their current or last jobs at the first interview, taking the latter as our starting point. However, unlike before, we shall not, in this chapter, compare the degree to which the leavers' subsequent occupations corresponded to their original ambitions. This topic will be discussed later when we review our informants' 'career profiles' (see Chapter 12).

We shall commence by examining the differences in occupational distributions of the people who were currently employed at each interview. Basing the analysis only on those who had jobs at each interview, however, tends to give an unduly favourable impression of the standard of the jobs obtained by the whole sample – especially in relation to West Indians – as people who were unemployed when we called to interview them tended more often to be customarily employed in lower manual/non-manual jobs. The omission of the currently unemployed introduces a particular bias at the final interview, as the general level of unemployment rose considerably toward the end of the survey period and had an especially sharp impact on the West Indians (see Chapter 5). In the subsequent tables, therefore, we have re-based the analysis on the total sample, including the last jobs of those who were currently without work.

Changes in occupational distributions

Our first table (based on the currently employed at each interview) shows that the occupational distribution of the white women remained relatively constant throughout the five years. The standard of the jobs of the white men, however, tended to deteriorate: there being an appreciable fall out from higher non-manual and skilled manual into lower manual/non-manual occupations. Thus, between the first and the final interviews the proportions of white males in upper stratum 'white collar' and skilled manual employment fell from 24% and 56%, respectively, to 18% and 50%, whilst the proportion engaged in lower stratum occupations rose from 20% to 32%.

In contrast, Early and Later Migrants, both male and female, appeared to have improved their position, mainly by moving from lower manual/non-manual occupations into higher non-manual work. This general trend amongst the West Indians was particularly pronounced amongst the Later Migrant women, where the proportion in lower stratum occupations fell over the five years, from 38% to 15%. In consequence, judging by the proportions in lower manual/non-manual work, it would appear that the West Indian women had recovered from the relatively unfavourable situation in which they were placed when first leaving school (as compared to their white counterparts) and that at the end of the five years all three female groups had similar occupational distributions, with more than 80% in higher non-manual jobs. Likewise, as a result of the relative increase in the proportion of white males in lower manual/non-manual jobs and the concurrent reduction in the proportion of their West Indian peers in such occupations, at the end of the five years the occupational distribution of the West Indian men was actually better than the Whites': only 14% to 16% of the West Indians being in lower stratum jobs, as compared with 32% of the Whites. (It is of interest to note that the third PSI survey also found evidence of a movement of West Indians into non-manual occupations, and of a convergence of employment patterns amongst young black and white people, in the period 1974–82.)

The educational and area cross-breaks demonstrate that the general improvement in the position of the West Indians, *vis-à-vis* their white counterparts, occurred at all educational levels and in both London and Birmingham, but was especially apparent amongst the least educated and in London. That is, the largest improvement was where hitherto there had been the greatest disparity in the fortunes of the Whites and the West Indians (see also Volume I, Chapter 8).

As we observed earlier, however, basing occupational distributions on the currently employed only, tends to give an unduly sanguine impression of the situation, as less educated people and those in lower stratum occupations suffer more unemployment. Table 3.2 controls for this bias by including the last jobs of those who were out of work at the first and the final interviews. This table shows that the effect of including the last occupations of the currently unemployed is generally to increase the proportions in lower manual/non-manual jobs, particularly at the final interview, amongst the less qualified and the men. The largest changes are in relation to the West Indians.

It should also be noted that at the time of the first interview there were substantial proportions of the Later

Table 3.1 Occupational group of current job at each interview by sex, educational level and area

Occupational group of current job	1st interview			2nd interview			3rd interview			4th interview		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sex: Males												
Higher non-manual	24	9	9	18	15	10	16	18	10	18	19	18
Skilled manual	56	68	74	56	64	68	57	66	72	50	67	66
Lower manual/non-manual	20	23	18	27	22	22	26	16	18	32	14	16
Base (all currently employed)†	117	110	34	120	118	41	115	110	39	120	99	38
Females												
Higher non-manual	86	70	59	88	75	75	86	84	85	89	83	83
Skilled manual	5	11	3	2	9	5	—	6	4	—	7	2
Lower manual/non-manual	9	19	38	10	16	20	14	10	11	11	10	15
Base (all currently employed)†	93	83	39	96	88	44	93	86	46	81	74	40
Educational level: Low												
Higher non-manual	43	18		45	21		44	35		38	36	
Skilled manual	32	48		29	47		25	46		28	47	
Lower manual/non-manual	24	34		25	32		31	19		34	17	
Base (all currently employed)†	74	61		75	66		72	68		63	53	
Medium												
Higher non-manual	49	38		41	44		42	47		41	44	
Skilled manual	38	43		26	38		41	39		37	45	
Lower manual/non-manual	14	18		23	18		17	13		22	11	
Base (all currently employed)†	80	76		83	82		81	76		82	73	
High												
Higher non-manual	66	50		64	57		58	62		63	62	
Skilled manual	29	39		29	36		29	31		22	28	
Lower manual/non-manual	5	11		7	7		13	8		15	11	
Base (all currently employed)†	56	56		58	58		55	52		54	47	
Area: London												
Higher non-manual	56	40		53	50		51	54		53	52	
Skilled manual	34	35		30	36		29	33		24	34	
Lower manual/non-manual	10	25		16	14		20	12		24	14	
Base (all currently employed)†	71	68		73	70		73	66		72	59	
Birmingham												
Higher non-manual	49	32		46	35		45	43		43	43	
Skilled manual	33	48		33	43		34	42		33	45	
Lower manual/non-manual	18	19		21	22		21	15		24	12	
Base (all currently employed)†	139	125		143	136		135	130		129	114	

† Those still remaining in the sample at the 4th interview, who were currently in employment at each interview stage.

Migrants, and of the least qualified Early Migrants in Birmingham, who had still to obtain a job. Had they succeeded in securing work by then they would, no doubt, have been more likely to have entered jobs in the bottom stratum and, therefore, to have enlarged the proportion of lower manual/non-manual workers in their respective groups, increasing the disparities between Whites and West Indians.

Although by basing their occupational distributions on current or last jobs we demonstrate that the West Indians had not made quite as much progress as first appeared, it

remains true, judging by the proportions in lower manual/non-manual employment, that the West Indian women still appear to have caught up eventually with their white counterparts, whilst the final position of the West Indian men, in both groups, remained appreciably more favourable than that of the white males, with only 21% of the Early and Later Migrants in lower stratum jobs compared to 34% of the Whites. As the educational and area cross-breaks illustrate, these trends occurred consistently at all educational levels and in both London and Birmingham.

Table 3.2 Occupational group of current/last job at first and final interviews by sex, educational level and area

Occupational group of current/last job	Sex											
	Males						Females					
	1st interview			4th interview			1st interview			4th interview		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
Higher non-manual	% 23	% 8	% 7	% 17	% 18	% 16	% 84	% 65	% 53	% 86	% 80	% 81
Skilled manual	54	66	67	50	62	63	5	11	2	—	5	2
Lower manual/non-manual	21	23	19	34	21	21	10	18	34	13	14	15
Not yet had a job at 1st interview	2	2	7	..	..	..	1	6	11	..	..	..
Insufficient information	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	2
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	125			43			99			47		

Occupational group of current/last job	Educational level											
	Low				Medium				High			
	1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
Higher non-manual	% 42	% 18	% 40	% 32	% 47	% 36	% 44	% 46	% 66	% 48	% 64	% 62
Skilled manual	30	41	25	40	38	45	35	41	29	40	21	26
Lower manual/non-manual	26	32	36	27	14	18	21	13	5	10	14	12
Not yet had a job at 1st interview	2	9	..	..	1	1	..	..	—	2	..	..
Insufficient information	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	81				85				58			

Occupational group of current/last job	Area							
	London				Birmingham			
	1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
Higher non-manual	% 55	% 38	% 54	% 49	% 47	% 30	% 44	% 43
Skilled manual	33	37	24	32	32	45	30	39
Lower manual/non-manual	10	25	22	18	19	19	26	18
Not yet had a job at 1st interview	1	—	..	..	1	6	..	..
Insufficient information	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	76				148			

Our findings so far, however, make no allowance for variations in the quality of the jobs obtained *within each occupational group*. As we shall show presently, when this further aspect is also taken into account we have considerably to revise these initial conclusions. First, however, we need to examine, in the next two tables, the changes that occurred in job distributions, in terms of their socio-economic grouping and the industries in which jobs were located.

Table 3.3 illustrates that although by the end of the five years the proportion of men in 'white collar' occupations was similar in each group, the West Indians were more likely to be in junior grades; whereas (largely because of the greater number of nurses in the West Indian samples) amongst the women the highest proportion of 'managerial and intermediate non-manual' occupations was in the Early and Later Migrant groups. The table also shows that the disparity in the proportions of white and West Indian men in lower manual/non-manual jobs (see Table 3.2) was mainly confined to semi-skilled manual occupations.

Changes in industrial distributions

Table 3.4 shows that there was little change in the nature of the industries in which the men found employment. The most noteworthy movement over the five years was a general increase of jobs in the Service Industries, accompanied mainly by a reduction of Whites in the Distributive Trades, and of West Indians in Construction.

The industrial distribution of white women also showed relatively little change, apart from a slight movement (as with their male counterparts) out of Distributive Trades into Service Industries.

West Indian women, in keeping with the marked shift in their occupational distributions that we observed earlier, showed much more evidence of movement between industries. At the final interview, both the Early and the Later Migrant women were more likely to be employed in the Distributive Trades and (especially the Later Migrants) in Professional and Scientific Services (mainly nursing), than at the beginning of their careers. This movement was accompanied mainly by a reduction in the relative number of the Early Migrants in Manufacturing and of Later Migrants employed in the Service Industries. Interestingly, as the Later Migrant women moved out of the Service Industries, there was an opposite movement amongst the Early Migrants (as, to a lesser extent, there was amongst the Whites) *into* Service Industry jobs. As previously there had been an exceptionally high proportion of Later Migrant women in the Service Industries (21%), these contrary flows are probably the result of the corresponding major shift of the Later Migrants out of semi-skilled manual employment in which initially they had been much over-represented (see Table 3.3).

West Indians of both sexes also showed a slight tendency over time to get more of their jobs in Administration and Finance, although the West Indian women remained notably under-represented in this important source of female employment. Thus, we find that at the end of the five years only 15% and 11% of the Early and Later Migrant women, respectively, had jobs in Administration and Finance as against 23% of Whites.

The area cross-break in Table 3.4 shows that the changes in the industrial distribution of the jobs of both Early Migrants and Whites occurred with a marked uniformity in both areas. The predominance of Manufacturing jobs in the Birmingham area and the relatively high number of jobs in Administration and Finance (particularly amongst Whites) in London, however, persisted throughout the five years.

The analysis by educational level shows that the largest shifts in the industrial distribution of jobs occurred amongst the least qualified – again reflecting the fact that it was in this educational stratum that both Whites and West Indians were most likely to have changed their occupations (see Tables 3.2 and 3.3). The final effect of these changes was that whereas previously these less educated West Indians had been much more likely to be employed in Manufacturing than were the equivalent Whites (60% compared to 39%), at the end of the five years this disparity had disappeared, with exactly 47% of both groups employed in Manufacturing. The only remaining differences amongst people in the bottom educational stratum being that (reversing the previous situation) there were now relatively more Early Migrants in the Service Industries and, as at all educational levels, relatively more Whites in Administration and Finance.

The academic level of people's occupations

We observed earlier how, when they first left school, the West Indian women (Later Migrants particularly) and London West Indians generally, had tended to obtain an especially large proportion of their jobs in the lower manual/non-manual stratum, as compared with the corresponding Whites. But that as a consequence of the subsequent fall-out of white men from higher non-manual and skilled manual work into lower stratum occupations, and the opposite movement of West Indians, of both sexes, *out* of lower stratum jobs into higher non-manual employment, at the end of the five years the West Indians appeared to have recovered from their initial setback, and in the case of the men the West Indians appeared to have finished up with *better* jobs than the Whites. As we noted previously, however, this did not take into account differences in the quality of the jobs within each occupational group. In the following three tables, therefore, we have attempted to obtain a rough measure of job quality by comparing the minimum level of qualifications usually required for entry to our informants' current or last occupations, at the first and final interviews (according to the Heg Scale – see Volume I, Appendix III).

Table 3.3 Socio-economic group of current/last jobs at first and final interviews by sex, educational level and area

Socio-economic group of current/last job	Sex						Females																	
	Males						Females																	
	1st interview			4th interview			1st interview			4th interview														
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants												
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%												
Managers and intermediate non-manual workers	5	1	2	9	4	2	5	7	8	14	20	23												
Junior non-manual workers	19	7	5	9	13	9	79	60	45	72	60	59												
Personal service workers	2	—	—	2	1	—	6	2	4	—	4	2												
Skilled manual workers	53	66	67	46	62	70	—	11	2	—	5	2												
Semi-skilled manual workers	15	18	12	26	16	19	9	13	30	13	10	13												
Unskilled manual workers	4	6	7	6	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	—												
Own account workers	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—												
Not yet had a job at 1st interview	2	2	7	—	—	—	1	6	11	—	—	—												
Insufficient information	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—												
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	125			43			125			43			99			47			99			47		

	Educational level											
	Low				Medium				High			
	1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Managers and intermediate non-manual workers	4	1	12	5	5	5	5	15	7	5	19	14
Junior non-manual workers	39	17	28	27	42	32	40	29	59	46	45	48
Personal service workers	4	2	1	4	5	—	1	2	2	—	—	—
Skilled manual workers	27	41	22	38	34	45	33	41	28	40	21	28
Semi-skilled manual workers	21	27	28	20	9	12	19	11	5	5	10	9
Unskilled manual workers	2	2	6	4	4	6	1	1	—	2	3	2
Own account workers	—	—	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Not yet had a job at 1st interview	2	9	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	2	—	—
Insufficient information	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	81				85				58			

	Area								Birmingham							
	London															
	1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Managers and intermediate non-manual workers	3	4	10	16	6	3	11	9	42	28	33	33	3	1	—	1
Junior non-manual workers	53	34	43	34	30	45	28	40	15	14	24	14	3	3	2	2
Personal service workers	5	1	3	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Skilled manual workers	29	37	22	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Semi-skilled manual workers	8	18	13	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Unskilled manual workers	1	5	7	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Own account workers	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Not yet had a job at 1st interview	1	—	—	—	1	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Insufficient information	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	76				148											

Table 3.4 Industry of current/last job at first and final interviews by sex, educational level and area

Industry of current/last job	Sex												
	Males						Females						
	1st interview			4th interview			1st interview			4th interview			
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Manufacturing	36	52	49	40	50	54	34	42	36	35	31	32	
Construction	14	14	14	15	12	7		3		1		2	
Service industries	20	13	23	25	18	30	9	10	21	12	17	13	
Distributive trades	18	8	5	11	8	5	16	10	15	11	13	19	
Administration and Finance	7	3		7	6	2	25	13	8	23	15	11	
Professional and scientific services	2	2	2	2	2	2	13	12	9	14	19	21	
Had not yet had a job at 1st interview	2	2	7				1	6	11				
Insufficient information		5			3		1	3		3	4	2	
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	125			125			99			99			47
Educational level													
	Low				Medium				High				
	1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Manufacturing	39	60	47	47	34	42	32	44	33	38	35	33	
Construction	7	6	7	4	11	13	14	11	5	9	3	5	
Service industries	12	6	14	22	18	11	22	9	16	21	22	24	
Distributive trades	23	10	12	12	14	11	11	12	14	5	10	5	
Administration and Finance	9	2	11	6	16	7	14	9	22	16	19	17	
Professional and scientific services	7	5	7	4	6	7	7	11	9	9	7	16	
Have not yet had a job at 1st interview	2	9			1	1				2			
Insufficient information		1	1	5		8		5	2	2	3		
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	81				85				58				
Area													
	London				Birmingham								
	1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview						
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants					
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%					
Manufacturing	24	38	28	28	41	53	43	49					
Construction	8	8	10	5	8	10	8	7					
Service industries	16	18	20	26	15	8	19	14					
Distributive trades	16	7	8	10	18	10	13	10					
Administration and Finance	30	13	29	16	7	5	7	7					
Professional and scientific services	5	10	5	12	8	5	8	8					
Had not yet had a job at 1st interview	1				1	6							
Insufficient information		5		3	1	3	2	4					
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	76				148								

Matched-pairs Table 3.5 shows that when age, sex, education and area are held constant, although there had been a notable improvement in the situation of the Early Migrants relative to the Whites to whom they were individually matched, the change was not so advantageous to the West Indians as our earlier observations would have led us to expect. Table 3.5(a) shows that 55% of the matched pairs had jobs requiring similar qualifications when they first left school; for 28% (the sum of the percentages below the diagonal) the White had a job requiring a higher level of qualifications than the matched West Indian; and for 16% it was the West Indian's job which needed the better qualifications. Part (b) of the table demonstrates that five years later the 'quality' of the West Indians' jobs had indeed improved, but only to the extent that the level of qualifications required for their occupations had come much closer to that of the Whites', that is with 49% being the same, and 27%/24% where the Whites' jobs required higher/lower qualifications, respectively. Hence, it transpires that although five years later there were relatively more Whites than West Indians in lower manual/non-manual occupations, we find that the general level of qualifications required to enter the Whites' occupations was (very marginally) superior to those of the West Indians.

In Table 3.6, where this data is examined in more detail, we find that the tendency for West Indians to have jobs which required lower entry qualifications than we would have expected from their occupational group distributions (see Table 3.2) occurred in relation to both sexes, at all educational levels and in both areas. Consequently, whereas it first appeared, judging from the proportions in lower manual/non-manual work, that the West Indian men had eventually finished up in better jobs than the Whites, and that the position of the white and West Indian women was finally very similar, Table 3.6 shows that when jobs are assessed in terms of their entry requirements, the general level of the jobs of white and West Indian men at the final interview are found to be almost identical, and that the Early Migrant and especially the Later Migrant women's jobs tended to be of a lower level than those of the similarly educated white women. Originally, the occupational group distributions of the white women suggested that the general level of their jobs had remained largely unchanged, apart from a movement out of junior grades of clerical and shop employment into 'intermediate non-manual' work (see Tables 3.2 and 3.3). Table 3.6 confirms that, as a result of this latter change, their subsequent jobs were of a slightly higher academic level at the end of the five years; for example the proportions requiring the top level of qualifications rose from 5% to 11%.

On the other hand, although the occupational group distributions of the two groups of West Indian women had, at the end of the five years, come very close to that of the white women (see Table 3.2), as a consequence of the West Indians moving from manual employment into junior and intermediate non-manual occupations (see Table 3.3), the level of qualifications required for entry to their final jobs indicates that in practice the standard of the 'white collar' vacancies that the West Indians had secured was distinctly inferior to that of the Whites; this was particularly true of the Later Migrant women. This is

Table 3.5 Minimum level of qualifications usually required for entry to current/last jobs* of matched pairs

		Matched Whites			Total
		(Technician) High	(Craftsman) Medium	Low	
Early Migrants	(Technician) High	1% 2	0% 1	1% 3	6
	(Craftsman) Medium	3% 7	27% 55	15% 31	93
	Low	3% 7	22% 45	27% 57	109
Total		16	101	91	Base (= 100%) 208

		Matched Whites			Total
		(Technician) High	(Craftsman) Medium	Low	
Early Migrants	(Technician) High	3% 6	4% 10	4% 8	24
	(Craftsman) Medium	5% 11	20% 46	16% 35	92
	Low	4% 9	18% 41	26% 58	108
Total		26	97	101	Base (= 100%) 224

* As assessed on the Heg Scale, for details of which see Volume 1, Appendix III.

† Excluding matched pairs in which one or both members had not obtained a job by the time of the first interview.

all the more surprising as within the 'higher non-manual' occupational group in which the great majority of all three groups of women had subsequently found employment, the West Indians had the highest proportions (20% - 23%) in the top 'intermediate non-manual' category (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.6 shows that the general level of the final jobs of the Early Migrant women, like that of the Whites, was appreciably higher than when they first left school, although the Early Migrants still had relatively more jobs of the kind that required few or no qualifications: 48%, as compared to 38% amongst the Whites. The Later Migrant women's final jobs, however, tended to require a much lower level of qualifications and, most disconcerting, the proportion with jobs requiring only a very low standard of education had remained virtually static (at 56% - 57%) from the time they first left school. As a particularly high proportion of the Later Migrant women (11%) had still to obtain work at the time of the first interview, and as most of these would probably have otherwise been in inferior

Table 3.6 Minimum level of qualifications usually required for entry to current/last jobs* at first and final interviews by sex, educational level and area

Level of qualifications usually required for entry to current/last job:	Sex												
	Males						Females						
	1st interview			4th interview			1st interview			4th interview			
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	
(Technician) High	% 9	% 5	% 9	% 12	% 11	% 12	% 5	% —	% 2	% 11	% 10	% —	
(Craftsman) Medium	46	48	35	38	40	39	51	36	30	50	42	44	
Low	43	45	49	50	49	49	43	58	57	38	48	56	
Not yet had a job at 1st interview	2	2	7	..	..	..	1	6	11	..	..	..
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	125			125			99			99			47
Educational level													
	Low				Medium				High				
	1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	
	% 1	% —	% 7	% 1	% 5	% 2	% 5	% 8	% 19	% 7	% 28	% 28	
(Technician) High	35	20	31	30	58	53	55	54	53	62	43	38	
(Craftsman) Medium	62	72	62	69	36	44	40	38	28	29	29	34	
Low	2	9	..	..	1	1	..	..	—	2	..	..
Not yet had a job at 1st interview	81				85				58				
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)													
Area													
	London				Birmingham								
	1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview						
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants					
	% 11	% 1	% 14	% 13	% 5	% 3	% 10	% 10					
(Technician) High	54	49	41	45	45	40	45	39					
(Craftsman) Medium	34	50	45	42	48	51	45	51					
Low	1	—	..	..	1	6	..	..			
Not yet had a job at 1st interview	76				148								
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)													

* See note to Table 3.5

occupations, the similarity in the proportions of Later Migrant women in jobs requiring very few qualifications, at the first and final interviews, is probably deceptive. There can be little doubt, as the increase in the proportion in occupations requiring 'craftsman' level qualifications (from 30% to 44%) would indicate, that the women in the Later Migrant group, like those in the other two groups, had indeed made some progress in the intervening five years. But Table 3.6 shows quite clearly that despite the general improvement in the level of women's jobs, the inter-group differences evident when they first left school had persisted up to the final interview.

The further cross-breaks by education and area, in Table 3.6, show that the tendency for the occupational classification of jobs in Tables 3.2 and 3.3 to give a spuriously favourable view of the quality of the jobs secured by West Indians relative to Whites, occurred at all educational levels and in both areas. In every instance, we find that although there had been a general improvement in the academic level of the West Indians' jobs (particularly in the top educational stratum and in London), at the end of the five years the West Indians were invariably in occupations that were of a very similar or slightly inferior academic level to those of the Whites.

Table 3.7 illustrates how and why the improvement in the general level of the West Indians' jobs proves to be less than we would have expected. The table (which has unfortunately to exclude the Later Migrants because of paucity of numbers) compares the Heg Scale ratings of jobs in the two principal socio-economic groups, at the first and the last interviews: the 'junior non-manual' in which women predominated, and the 'skilled manual' which consisted almost exclusively of men. It shows that although there was only a relatively small difference in the academic standard of the junior non-manual occupations held by Whites and Early Migrants at the first interview, by the time of the final interview the gap had widened considerably. This had come about as a result of the marked rise in the academic level of the junior non-manual jobs occupied by Whites, accompanied by a much smaller improvement in the quality of the junior non-manual jobs obtained by West Indians. Thus, for example, at the beginning, 43% of the Whites' occupations and 48% of the Early Migrants' required the minimum of qualifications, whereas at the end the corresponding proportions were 29% and 44%. This change was further accompanied by a sizeable reduction in the relative number of Whites in this junior grade of 'white collar' employment, from 46% to 37%, and a slight increase of Early Migrants from 30% to 33%. As we observed earlier, the movement out of this type of employment by Whites, occurred mainly amongst the men and the least qualified into semi-skilled manual employment (see Table 3.3). We also found previously that many Whites who had originally aspired to enter skilled manual employment, when they first left school, had eventually to settle for junior non-manual (and less-skilled manual) work and that in consequence many more Whites had entered 'white collar' employment than had originally intended to do so, particularly in London.

The apparent ease with which Whites were able to get such employment, however, was not repeated to the same degree amongst the West Indians (see Volume 1, Chapter 8). Relatively fewer of the West Indians had

obtained junior non-manual jobs on first entry into the labour market, although the academic level of the vacancies they secured proved to be only a little below that of the Whites', as is demonstrated in Table 3.7. Subsequently, it appears that many of the Whites who had entered less attractive junior clerical and shop jobs had since left them, for semi-skilled manual employment (see Table 3.3). In consequence, the general standard of the remaining junior non-manual jobs held by Whites rose considerably, whereas that of the West Indians improved only marginally. The difference in the quality of the junior non-manual jobs occupied by Whites and Early Migrants at the end of the five years, is in effect very similar to that occurring in skilled manual work when people first left school and which (as Table 3.7 demonstrates) persisted until the end of the survey period. It is for these reasons that the occupational classifications, particularly of the jobs they had at the end of the five years, tend to give a deceptive view of the relative standard of the West Indians' employment.

The social status of people's occupations

Table 3.8(a) shows, as noted earlier in Volume 1, that if the jobs of the matched pairs at the beginning of the survey are compared, we find, despite the variance in the Heg Scale ratings of their occupations, that on the Hope-Goldthorpe Scale there was very little difference in their relative social status. Furthermore, Table 3.8(b) suggests that five years later it was the West Indians who tended to have slightly more prestigious jobs. Thus, the proportions of matched pairs where the Whites' jobs are shown as being of higher status (as indicated by the total of the percentages below each diagonal) was virtually the same at both interviews (34% - 35%), whereas the proportion where the West Indian had the higher status job (the total of the percentages above each diagonal) rose from 31% at the first interview to 41% at the end of the survey.

Table 3.7 Minimum level of qualifications usually required for entry to current/last jobs* in the two principal socio-economic groups, at the first and final interviews

Minimum level of qualification usually required for entry to job	Junior non-manual				Skilled manual			
	1st interview		4th interview		1st interview		4th interview	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(Technician) High	4	—	11	8	9	6	11	9
(Craftsman) Medium	53	52	60	48	63	57	61	49
Low	43	48	29	44	28	38	28	42
Base (all leavers with jobs in named SEGs)	102	68	82	75	67	94	57	81
Proportion of leavers whose current/last jobs were in named SEGs	46%	30%	37%	33%	30%	42%	25%	36%
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	224				224			

* See note to Table 3.5.

Table 3.8 The social standing* of current/last jobs of matched pairs

(a) At first interview†

Social Standing
(Hope-Goldthorpe Scale)

		Matched Whites					Total
		60 and over	50-59	40-49	30-39	Below 30	
Early Migrants	60 and over	1% 2	—	2% 3	2% 4	—	9
	50-59	2% 3	2% 5	5% 11	5% 11	2% 3	33
	40-49	2% 3	2% 3	8% 17	10% 21	1% 2	46
	30-39	3% 6	3% 8	12% 25	23% 48	4% 9	96
	Below 30	—	1% 2	5% 10	5% 10	1% 2	24
Total		14	18	65	94	16	Base (= 100%) 208

(b) At final interview

Social Standing
(Hope-Goldthorpe Scale)

		Matched Whites					Total
		60 and over	50-59	40-49	30-39	Below 30	
Early Migrants	60 and over	1% 3	1% 2	4% 8	4% 10	1% 2	25
	50-59	1% 2	3% 6	3% 6	3% 6	3% 7	27
	40-49	1% 2	3% 7	5% 12	8% 17	5% 12	50
	30-39	3% 7	5% 12	12% 26	16% 37	9% 20	102
	Below 30	0% 1	0% 1	2% 4	6% 13	0% 1	20
Total		15	28	56	83	42	Base (= 100%) 224

* As assessed on the Hope-Goldthorpe Scale, for details of which see Volume 1, Appendix III.

† Excluding matched pairs in which one or both members had not obtained a job by the time of the first interview.

It was found later, when the leavers were asked to give their own assessments of their final employment that our West Indian informants also tended to allot a somewhat higher status to their occupations than one might have expected. The reasons for this seeming anomaly are discussed elsewhere (see Chapter 9 and Volume 1, Chapter 8).

Pay

Table 3.9 compares the average pay of current/last jobs, at each interview stage. It shows that our informants' pay increased quite dramatically as the survey progressed. This resulted partly from the increments that young workers receive as they become older, but to a large degree it is also a reflection of the very high general level of wage increases (and of inflation) at the time the survey was in the field – between 1971 and 1977.

Table 3.9 shows that, generally speaking, one finds when age, sex, education and area are controlled for, there was very little difference in the average pay of Whites and West Indians, throughout the five years. This finding also tends to support our final conclusion that the general standard of the West Indians' jobs at the end of the survey was not, in practice, any higher than those of the Whites, despite the favourable impression given by occupational classifications. The largest variations in pay, by far, were between men and women, and between London and Birmingham. Women in both the White and West Indian groups tended at all times to receive less than their male counterparts. At the last interview, for instance, the average of the women's wages ranged between 73% and 79% of the men's. As a half of the Birmingham sample was interviewed a year later than the Londoners, we have split the Birmingham sample according to when they were interviewed; this also, incidentally, gives a measure of the rapidity with which pay rates were rising at the time, as the age, sex and educational qualifications of the Year 1 and 2 samples were very similar. The comparison of the average pay levels of people in London and Birmingham, in the Year 1 sample, shows, as one would expect, that Londoners of both ethnicities tended to receive the highest pay.

Although pay tended to rise with education, the differences were surprisingly small, especially toward the end of the survey.

Summary

Assessing occupational distributions on the basis of those currently in employment at each interview stage tended to give an unduly favourable impression of people's jobs (particularly the West Indians'), as the unemployed were prone to enter lower grade occupations. After allowance is made for this bias (by basing the analysis on the current/last jobs at the first and final interviews), however, it still appeared that there had been a notable improvement over the years in the position of the West Indians of both sexes, as a consequence of a movement from lower manual/non-manual jobs into higher non-manual occupations. This general rise in the standard of jobs was particularly pronounced amongst the Later Migrant women.

In contrast, the occupational distribution of the white women had remained relatively constant, whilst amongst white men there had been a tendency for some to move downwards from higher non-manual and skilled manual work into lower manual/non-manual occupations.

As a consequence of these changes the women's groups had ended up with broadly similar occupational distributions, thereby correcting the unfavourable position of the West Indian women, relative to Whites, when they first left school. Whilst the West Indian men, at the end of the five years, tended to be in jobs that were ostensibly better than those occupied by their white counterparts.

Table 3.9 Average pay* in current/last jobs at each interview† by sex, educational level, area and sample year

Average pay in current/ last job at	Sex					
	Males			Females		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1st Interview	9.95	9.59	10.55	9.61	9.73	9.76
2nd Interview	15.55	15.51	15.88	13.64	12.80	13.79
3rd Interview	26.60	25.57	26.90	21.27	21.41	21.56
4th Interview	41.44	38.85	39.53	30.40	30.67	31.08
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	125		43	99		47

Average pay in current/ last job at	Educational level						Year 1 Sample				Year 2 Sample	
	Low		Medium		High		London		Birmingham		Birmingham	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1st Interview	8.66	8.70	9.71	9.84	11.32	10.54	11.36	10.54	8.07	8.81	10.03	9.51
2nd Interview	13.46	13.49	15.03	14.52	15.62	15.13	16.55	15.63	12.62	12.22	14.91	14.99
3rd Interview	22.08	21.37	24.73	24.99	25.70	25.15	26.09	25.88	21.68	19.96	24.81	24.99
4th Interview	34.68	32.05	37.58	38.43	36.73	34.97	39.85	37.13	33.58	32.14	36.34	36.48
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	81		85		58		76		75		73	

* Includes overtime and bonuses, but after deduction of tax and national insurance.

* Includes overtime and bonuses, but after deduction of tax and national insurance.

† Excluding a few persons who declined to answer and (at the first interview) those who had not yet had a job.

The largest improvements in the fortunes of the West Indians were amongst those who had been most disadvantaged on first entering the labour market: for example, the Later Migrant women and the least educated.

There were only fairly small changes, during the five years, in the nature of the industries, in which Whites and West Indian men found employment. The West Indian women, however, displayed a notable increase of jobs in the Distributive Trades and in Professional and Scientific Services, and a decrease in employment in Manufacturing and (amongst Later Migrants) in the Service Industries. West Indians of *both* sexes also tended over time to get more of their jobs in Administration and Finance, although the West Indian women remained much under-represented in this important sector of female employment.

On closer examination, however, it was found that the job classifications tended to give a spuriously favourable view of the quality of the jobs secured by West Indians. We had observed earlier how, when they first started work, the skilled manual occupations of the West Indian men tended to require a lower level of qualifications than those

of the Whites. In relation to 'white collar' occupations, on the other hand, although Whites apparently found it easier to procure such jobs, the junior non-manual vacancies secured by the West Indians were of a standard very close to that of the Whites. Over the subsequent five years, however, as a result of Whites moving out from less attractive junior non-manual jobs (into semi-skilled manual employment) the general standard of the remaining junior non-manual jobs held by Whites rose considerably, whereas the West Indians' improved very little. Consequently, the final jobs of West Indians in junior non-manual occupations tended to be of a lower academic level than those of the Whites, as indeed had always been the case, in skilled manual employment.

Hence, it transpires that whereas it had initially appeared (from the occupational classification of their work) that the West Indian men had eventually secured better jobs than their white counterparts, in practice their occupations proved to be of an almost identical academic standard. Whilst amongst women, although they had all improved their position over time, we found that the inter-group differences evident when they first left school (with Later Migrants in the least favourable position and Whites the most favoured) had, in fact, persisted up to the final interview.

However, if 'social status' is based crudely upon occupational type, then although the quality of the jobs of West Indians in each type of occupation tended to be inferior, it would appear that the social standing of the West Indians' employment five years after they had left school, compared very favourably with the Whites'.

Finally, after controlling for age, sex, education and area, we found that throughout the five years there was very little difference in the average levels of pay of Whites and West Indians. The largest variations were by area and between the sexes. Pay levels, as one would expect, tended to be highest in London, whilst the final salaries of women

averaged out at only about three quarters of those received by men. Educational differences had relatively little effect on average earnings, although here it should be borne in mind that our educational groupings are based on school-leaving qualifications only. This last finding, therefore, does not allow for the influence on earnings of any additional vocational qualifications acquired subsequently, through part-time further education.

Reference

- ¹ Brown, C. *Black and White Britain*. 1984. pp 173-179.

4 Job mobility and reasons for changing jobs

We observed in the first part of the report that within six months of entering the labour market approximately one in five of the leavers had already changed their jobs at least once. In addition, it was found that about a half of the West Indians and just over a quarter of the Whites were hoping eventually to move from their current occupations into more congenial work (see Volume 1, Chapter 7 and Chapter 10). The purpose of this chapter is to study the course of job mobility over subsequent years; the reasons for changing jobs; and how advantageous job changing proved to be to people's careers.

Frequency of job changing over the five years

Table 4.1 compares the total number of jobs that the matched pairs of white and Early Migrant leavers had had by the end of the five years of the survey. It shows that the proportion of cases (above the diagonal) where the Whites had more jobs than the West Indians to whom they were matched (38%) was slightly exceeded by the proportion (below the diagonal) where it was the West Indians who had the greater number of job changes (47%).

Table 4.2 demonstrates that the tendency for Early Migrants to be slightly more mobile than Whites held true for both the sexes and all three educational strata, but only in London. The Later Migrants, however, had similar or (in the case of the women) slightly lower rates of job changing than the Whites. We shall discuss the possible reasons for these divergences later.

The average number of jobs had by men and by women was almost identical amongst the Whites (3.2/3.3), whereas West Indian men had tended (during the last two years) to have more jobs than had their female counterparts. But the most consistent and substantial variations were between the educational strata. In both ethnic groups, the middle and upper strata had had the same number of jobs (an average of 2.8 per person for Whites, and 3.2 for West Indians), but in the bottom stratum of each group mobility had been markedly higher, with averages of 4.1 jobs for Whites and 4.6 for Early Migrants.

Additionally, there was a notable decline in the rate of job changing over time, although this is not easy to see from the data in Table 4.2 because of the variations in the intervals between interviews. However, if the job mobility rates are recalculated on an annual basis, as in Figure 4.1, it becomes clear that the average frequency of job changing generally stayed fairly high during the first three years (up to the third interview) but that thereafter it fell considerably. The decline was largely attributable to a change in the behaviour of the less qualified. During the

Table 4.1 Total number of jobs over the five years by matched pairs

		Matched Whites							
		Number of jobs							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more
Early Migrants	1	3% 7	5% 12	3% 6	0% 1	3% 6	1% 2	—	1% 3
	2	5% 12	5% 12	5% 11	3% 7	2% 5	1% 2	1% 2	1% 3
	3	4% 10	3% 7	4% 8	2% 5	0% 1	0% 1	1% 3	1% 3
	4	4% 10	3% 6	2% 4	1% 2	1% 2	0% 1	—	1% 2
	5	3% 6	2% 5	1% 3	1% 3	0% 1	1% 2	—	0% 1
	6	2% 4	2% 5	1% 2	1% 3	0% 1	0% 1	1% 2	0% 1
	7	1% 3	1% 3	2% 4	1% 2	—	0% 1	—	—
	8 or more	2% 4	0% 1	1% 3	1% 2	0% 1	0% 1	—	1% 3
Total		56	51	41	25	17	11	7	16
		Base (= 100%)							
		224							

first three years the annual average for job changes in the bottom educational stratum was double the rate in the other two strata, that is, 0.9 for Early Migrants and 0.8 for Whites, compared with 0.5 for the better qualified Early Migrants and 0.5 declining to 0.35 for better qualified Whites. Thereafter, although the less qualified leavers continued to be the most mobile, the variation between the behaviour of people in the different strata was greatly reduced, so that during the last two years annual rates of job changing per person ranged only from 0.25 to 0.35 amongst the Whites, and from 0.3 to 0.4 amongst the Early Migrants.

Thus, it would appear that there were two distinct phases in job mobility over the five years. The first phase, lasting for approximately three years, during which people were searching out suitable employment for themselves, was characterised by frequent job changes, particularly among the less qualified leavers. In the second phase, covering the last two years of the survey, people settled down to an average rate equivalent to about one job change every three to four years, although less qualified leavers continued to be slightly more mobile than others. The reduction in job mobility in the last two years was probably accentuated by the concurrent rise in general levels of unemployment (see Figure 5.1). There was a relatively high number of unemployed at the final interview, especially among the people who were in the bottom educational stratum. Had these people succeeded in getting re-employed, it would have raised the average

Table 4.2 Average number of jobs up to each interview* by sex, educational level and area

	1st interview			2nd interview			3rd interview			4th interview		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
Sex: Males												
Average number of jobs up to each interview*	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.9	2.1	1.8	2.6	3.1	2.4	3.2	3.9	3.3
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	125			125			125			125		
Females												
Average number of jobs up to each interview*	1.4	1.1	1.1	2.0	1.9	1.9	2.7	2.9	2.5	3.3	3.4	2.9
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	99			99			99			99		
Educational level: Low												
Average number of jobs up to each interview*	1.4	1.2		2.2	2.4		3.4	3.8		4.1	4.6	
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	81			81			81			81		
Medium												
Average number of jobs up to each interview*	1.2	1.1		1.8	1.8		2.3	2.6		2.8	3.2	
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	85			85			85			85		
High												
Average number of jobs up to each interview*	1.1	1.1		1.6	1.7		2.2	2.5		2.8	3.2	
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	58			58			58			58		
Area: London												
Average number of jobs up to each interview*	1.1	1.2		1.8	2.2		2.4	3.4		3.0	4.3	
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	76			76			76			76		
Birmingham												
Average number of jobs up to each interview*	1.3	1.2		2.0	1.9		2.8	2.8		3.4	3.4	
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	148			148			148			148		

* The average of all the jobs which people had had since leaving school, up to each interview stage.

number of jobs slightly, during the final period. Also, with the increasing scarcity of vacancies in later years, people would have found it harder to move to other employment.

Reasons for changing jobs

The next set of three tables show the reasons, and the circumstances, which had led people to change their jobs. At each interview, if the informant had left a job since our last visit, we asked why the person had left his/her previous employment. As the majority of our informants had had only one job by the first interview, we did not start enquiring about people's reasons for leaving jobs until the second interview, when we took the last job which had been left (if any) since the informant had begun work. The following tables, therefore, are divided into three periods: the first taking us up to nearly two years

after people left school, the second to just over three years from school, and the last period covers the final two years of the survey.

Table 4.3 shows, in full detail, all the reasons that people gave for leaving their jobs, and the relative frequency of resignations, dismissals and redundancies at each interview stage. The data has been presented in this form for reference purposes, and to illustrate how the relative importance of particular reasons for job changing varied, but needs to be studied in conjunction with Tables 4.4 and 4.5. By restricting the latter tables to persons who left a job during each period, one can see more easily how the reasons for resignations varied, and the propensity to be dismissed or made redundant changed, as time progressed. (This, of course, also reduces the size of their bases and consequently Tables 4.4 and 4.5 have had to be confined to Whites and Early Migrants only.)

Figure 4.1 Phases in job mobility by educational level

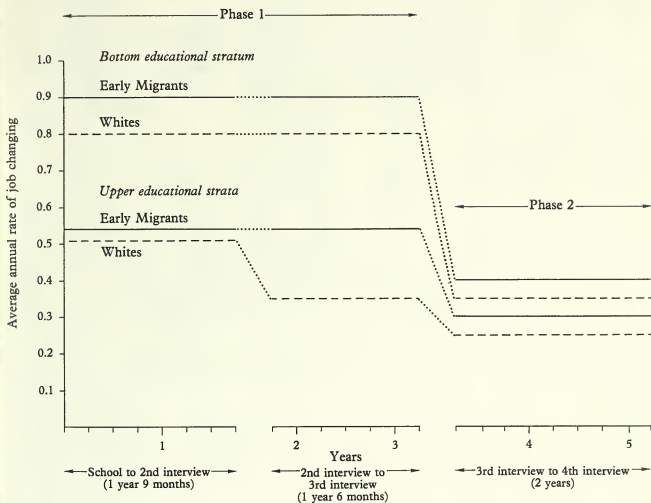


Table 4.3 Reasons for leaving jobs at each follow-up stage by sex

	Males								
	Between: School and 2nd interview			2nd and 3rd interview			3rd and 4th interview		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Had remained in the same job*	50	38	56	59	49	65	64	50	56
Had left one or more jobs - reason for leaving last employer									
Resigned because:									
Disliked nature of the work	2	6	7	2	2	7	1	4	5
Disliked particular aspects of the work	4	4	—	1	2	—	—	1	—
Found the work too boring	8	4	2	8	6	—	3	8	2
Work too heavy/tiring	2	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	—
Bad physical working conditions	6	5	5	3	3	2	6	3	—
Long/inconvenient hours	6	1	5	2	2	2	5	2	—
Low pay	17	18	5	19	10	5	7	10	7
Lack of prospects	8	3	—	6	6	—	6	4	5
Lack of training provision	6	6	2	2	6	7	3	3	5
Did not get on with fellow workers	1	2	—	2	1	2	—	2	2
Did not get on with supervisor	4	4	—	2	3	5	3	1	5
Lack of fulfilment/pride in work/ responsibility	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	2
Temporary job only	1	2	2	—	1	—	1	—	—
Personal/domestic reasons (including pregnancy)	5	1	—	2	2	—	4	2	9
Other reasons	6	2	5	4	5	7	6	7	5
Total†	37	42	28	34	30	28	25	30	28
Dismissed because:									
Work below standard	2	3	2	2	1	2	—	2	2
Poor time-keeping/frequent absences from work	3	6	2	2	6	—	6	3	7
Misconduct	1	4	2	1	3	2	—	1	2
Other reasons	2	4	2	2	4	—	—	3	—
No reason given by employer	—	1	—	1	2	—	1	1	2
Total†	8	16	9	6	15	5	6	9	14
Made redundant	5	4	7	2	6	2	5	10	2
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	125			125			125		
	43			43			43		

* Including persons who were unemployed at the previous interview, but had since obtained a job and stayed in it.

† The total of the reasons for resignations exceeds the number of resignations because people frequently gave several reasons for leaving; similarly for dismissals.

Table 4.4 shows that the effects of the encroaching recession had an especially severe impact on the Early Migrant men, as many as one in five of whom had lost their jobs through redundancy in the last two years. Also, although men were generally more prone to dismissal than were women, during the first three years after leaving school the Early Migrant men were exceptionally liable to lose their jobs in this way, mainly because of a propensity to poor time-keeping and frequent absences from work (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.5 summarises people's reasons for resigning from jobs and shows, as might be expected, that initially the most common reasons were that people were discontented with the nature of their work, or with their conditions of employment. Next in general importance

were dissatisfactions with their future prospects or training facilities, and problems in getting on with their fellow workers or supervisors. But there were quite marked differences between the sexes. As compared with men, the table shows that the white women were more likely to leave because they disliked the type of work they were doing, or because of friction with their colleagues or supervisors. White men were more likely to resign because of dissatisfaction with the conditions of employment, prospects, or training facilities in their jobs. Similar differences between men and women also occurred amongst the West Indians. As people grew older, however, marriage and pregnancies took over as the dominant reasons for female resignations, particularly amongst the Whites. This trend makes it difficult to interpret the relative changes of emphasis given to the

	Females									
	Between: School and 2nd interview			2nd and 3rd interview			3rd and 4th interview			
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Had remained in the same job*	48	48	55	57	48	60	54	57	64	
Had left one or more jobs – reason for leaving last employer										
Resigned because:										
Disliked nature of the work	4	9	8	2	2	6	2	3	—	
Disliked particular aspects of the work	11	5	6	3	4	—	1	1	2	
Found the work too boring	12	4	4	12	8	2	9	2	6	
Work too heavy/tiring	3	1	2	2	3	—	—	3	2	
Bad physical working conditions	2	—	2	2	1	—	2	1	—	
Long/inconvenient hours	2	1	—	1	3	4	2	3	—	
Low pay	11	8	6	12	14	8	6	9	2	
Lack of prospects	6	2	—	—	5	2	1	4	—	
Lack of training provision	1	1	—	2	2	—	2	2	2	
Did not get on with fellow workers	6	8	—	4	4	4	2	3	—	
Did not get on with supervisor	3	1	—	5	3	4	1	6	—	
Lack of fulfillment/pride in work/ responsibility	1	—	2	1	1	—	2	—	—	
Temporary job only	4	6	—	—	2	—	1	4	2	
Personal/domestic reasons (including pregnancy)	4	7	1	10	6	2	7	14	15	
Other reasons	6	2	—	8	6	6	2	5	4	
Total†	42	43	30	36	41	32	35	34	26	
Dismissed because:										
Work below standard	1	1	4	—	2	—	1	2	1	
Poor time-keeping/frequent absences from work	3	1	2	1	1	4	2	1	—	
Misconduct	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	
Other reasons	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	1	
No reason given by employer	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	
Total†	5	3	6	2	5	6	4	3	2	
Made redundant	4	5	8	5	6	2	6	5	9	
Base (All leavers at 4th interview)	99			47	99			47	99	

other factors over time, especially as although the pull of material and domestic responsibilities was undoubtedly the main factor, it is worth noting that, not infrequently, personal reasons of this kind were conjoined with expressions of dissatisfaction about the women's employment, implying that had their jobs been more attractive they might have been less willing to abandon them. We have to turn, therefore, to the reasons that men gave for leaving jobs for a clearer view of how attitudes changed over time and of the divergences between the ethnic groups. The most significant trends apparent in the male data are that Whites mentioned dissatisfaction with their conditions of employment much more often than did West Indians, and that Whites (unlike West Indians) cited dislike of their work much less frequently during the final two years. It is to be expected that as people began to settle into their

work and to change their employment less often, only a decreasing minority would still be seeking a radical change in their occupations – as indeed appears to have been the case with the Whites. The absence of a similar trend among the Early Migrants suggests that the West Indians, although no longer changing jobs as frequently as before, remained much less reconciled to the nature of their current employment.

It is also noticeable that toward the end of the survey the men in both ethnic groups frequently cited a miscellany of other minor reasons for being discontented with their earlier employment. These other complaints could not be categorised very easily as they covered such a wide range of topics – the most frequent cause of their discontents being poor management (with its consequent frustrations

Table 4.4 Summary of voluntary and involuntary job changes by sex

Reason left last job	Males					
	Between: School and 2nd interview		2nd and 3rd interview		3rd and 4th interview	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
Voluntary (resigned)	%	%	%	%	%	%
Involuntary	74	68	82	59	69	61
Dismissed	16	26	14	30	18	18
Made redundant	10	6	4	11	13	21
Base (persons who had left a job during the period specified)	62	77	51	64	45	62

Table 4.5 Summary of reasons for voluntary job changes by sex

Reason why resigned from last job*	Males					
	Between: School and 2nd interview		2nd and 3rd interview		3rd and 4th interview	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disliked nature of the work	41	37	36	37	19	45
Unsatisfactory conditions of employment	78	58	71	50	71	50
Inadequate prospects or training provision	37	21	24	40	36	24
Did not get on with fellow-workers/supervisor	13	15	12	13	13	8
Lack of fulfilment/pride in work/responsibility	2	—	—	—	—	8
Temporary job only	2	4	—	3	3	—
Personal/domestic reasons (including pregnancy)	13	2	7	8	16	5
Other reasons	17	6	12	16	22	24
Base (persons who had resigned their last jobs in the period specified)	46	52	42	38	31	38

* The summary of reasons given above has been constituted from the more detailed descriptions as given in Table 4.3, as follows: Disliked nature of the work = items 1-4, in Table 4.3; Unsatisfactory conditions of employment = items 5-7; Inadequate prospects/training = items 8-9; Did not get on with fellow-workers/supervisor = items 10-11. The remaining sub-headings are as given in Table 4.3. The total of the reasons people left their jobs adds to more than 100% because frequently more than one reason was given for resigning.

for employees) allied to generally bad relations between managers and workforce. With their greater maturity and experience of the world of work it is perhaps to be expected that in later years people would become more perceptive and critical about such matters.

How new jobs compared with old

In addition to enquiring about the reasons that people have left their previous employment, we also asked them to compare the relative merits of their past and present jobs. Table 4.6 shows that regardless of whether they left their previous work voluntarily or involuntarily, most people considered their new jobs to be better. The Early Migrants, however, were prone to be less satisfied with their new employment, than were Whites, and in both ethnic groups satisfaction with the results of job changing tended to decline over time. Thus, over the final two years (between the third and the fourth interviews) only 42% of the Whites and 29% of the Early Migrants who had

changed employers during that period considered their new jobs to be fully satisfactory, as compared with 49% and 37%, respectively, during the period immediately after they left school. The general tendency for job changing to be less rewarding as time passed was particularly pronounced for voluntary changes.

Improvements in conditions of employment (especially pay) were the reason people gave most often for preferring their new jobs, though West Indians invariably expressed less satisfaction on this score than Whites. Consistently throughout the survey, approximately two-thirds or more of the Whites declared that their current conditions of employment were better than in their old jobs, as compared with only a half of the West Indians. The next most frequent reason for people preferring their new employment was that they were happier with the nature of the work. Here again, initially, Whites tended to be more pleased with their new employment than were

Table 4.4 continued

Reason left last job	Females					
	Between: School and 2nd interview		2nd and 3rd interview		3rd and 4th interview	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Voluntary (resigned)	82	84	84	79	78	81
Involuntary Dismissed	10	6	5	10	9	7
Made redundant	8	10	12	12	13	12
<i>Base (persons who had left a job during the period specified)</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>42</i>

Table 4.5 continued

Reason why resigned from last job*	Females					
	Between: School and 2nd interview		2nd and 3rd interview		3rd and 4th interview	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disliked nature of the work	71	44	53	42	34	26
Unsatisfactory conditions of employment	36	21	42	44	29	37
Inadequate prospects or training provision	17	7	6	17	9	17
Did not get on with fellow-workers/ supervisor	21	21	25	17	9	26
Lack of fulfilment/pride in work/ responsibility	2	—	3	2	6	—
Temporary job only	10	14	—	5	3	11
Personal/domestic reasons (including pregnancy)	10	16	28	15	60	40
Other reasons	14	5	19	15	6	14
<i>Base (persons who had resigned their last jobs in the period specified)</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>34</i>

Table 4.6 Job changes at each follow-up stage: how new jobs compared with old

	Last job change between:					
	School and 2nd interview		2nd and 3rd interview		3rd and 4th interview	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Left last job voluntarily and considered new job to be:						
Better than previous one and very satisfied	42	28	41	30	32	18
Better than previous one but not fully satisfied	29	32	29	29	22	35
Same or worse than previous job	8	15	16	17	20	18
Dismissed or made redundant from last job and considered new job to be:						
Better than previous one and very satisfied	7	9	9	10	10	11
Better than previous one but not fully satisfied	8	10	4	8	9	8
Same or worse than previous job	6	6	—	6	7	9
Total job changes where new job thought better than old	86%	79%	83%	77%	73%	73%
Total job changes where person was very satisfied with new job	49%	37%	50%	40%	42%	29%
<i>Base (persons who had left a job and been re-employed during the period specified)</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>111</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>103</i>	<i>75</i>	<i>70</i>

West Indians, but in the last two years there was a considerable decline in the proportions who preferred the type of work they were now doing. Thus, whereas during the first two years 47% of the Whites and 31% of the West Indians who changed their jobs favoured the nature of the work in their new employment, in the last two years the proportions fell to 21% and 26%, respectively. As we observed earlier, during the last two years voluntary job changing amongst Whites was much less likely to be prompted by discontent with the nature of their (current) occupations, and consequently most were likely to have been seeking vacancies in a similar type of work, albeit with better conditions of employment. Although the rates of job changing amongst the West Indians also declined during later years, the relative frequency with which West Indians resigned from their employment because of dissatisfaction with the type of work they were doing continued at much the same rate throughout the five years (see Table 4.5). This is hardly surprising, given the difficulty West Indians had in securing employment in their desired occupations and explains why, as a consequence of their continuing endeavours to enter more congenial occupations, the proportions of West Indians who found their way into different and more acceptable types of occupation declined less over the years.

The employment histories of frequent job changers

Particularly during the first three years, there were some fairly large differences in levels of job mobility, as between Whites, Early Migrants and Later Migrants, and between the better qualified and less qualified leavers. It is of interest, therefore, to see what effect frequent job changing had upon people's careers. To this end, in the next three tables we have attempted to assess the extent to which job changing assisted people to achieve their

ambitions, and to raise the general standard of their jobs. The situation is complicated by differences in the suitability of people's original aspirations, and by the extent to which people were successful in getting the jobs they wanted, when they first left school. As we observed in the earlier part of the report, many people, although they had failed at first to get exactly what they were after, decided to remain, at least for the time being, in the jobs they had secured (see Volume 1, Chapter 10). For our present purposes, therefore, we have compared people's final jobs at the end of the five years with their (revised) aspirations at the first interview, where these differed from their original ambitions when leaving school.

It should be remembered that job changing was not always voluntary: at least part of the reason that Early Migrants had more jobs than Whites being that during the first three years the Early Migrant men were more prone to be dismissed, and in later years they were especially vulnerable to being made redundant (see Table 4.4). The increasing scarcity of vacancies produced by the economic recession also undoubtedly reduced the frequency with which people were able to change their jobs in later years. The tendency for the Early Migrants in Birmingham, and Later Migrants generally, to be less mobile, was also very probably because it was harder for them to get alternative employment (see Table 5.3(c)). However, whilst such factors may help to account for the variations in job mobility, it is also of interest to know how much effect frequent job changing had on people's careers.

In Table 4.7 we start by looking at the general association between occupational mobility and frequency of job changing. The bottom panel of the table summarises the results of job changing, at each frequency, in terms of net movements, up or down, between the lower and the top

Table 4.7 Comparison of first and last occupations by number of job changes over the five years

First and last jobs were both in:	Had stayed with same employer		Had changed employers										Total	
			Once		Twice		3-4 times		5 or more times					
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants		
	% 89	% 79	% 41	% 39	% 46	% 27	% 24	% 30	% 24	% 21	% 48	% 38		
The same occupation	6	11	24	30	27	40	33	36	30	38	22	31		
Different occupations, but in the same occupational group														
Different occupational groups														
Moved between skilled manual and higher non-manual	3	—	8	9	—	16	7	11	6	4	5	8		
Moved up from lower manual/non-manual to skilled manual or higher non-manual	2	8	20	17	5	13	10	12	3	17	8	14		
Moved down from skilled manual or higher non-manual to lower manual/non-manual	—	3	8	4	20	5	26	11	38	19	16	8		
Insufficient information	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	0	0		
Net movement up (+) or down (-) between skilled manual/higher non-manual and lower manual/non-man	+2	+5	+12	+13	-15	+8	-16	+1	-35	-2	-8	+6		
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	56	37	51	54	41	38	42	48	34	47	224	224		

Table 4.8 Whether (revised) aspirations at the first interview had been realised at the end of the five years by number of job changes

Final job was in:	Had stayed with same employer		Had changed employers								Total	
			Once		Twice		3-4 times		5 or more times			
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Desired occupation	84	76	41	48	44	34	24	42	18	26	46	44
A different occupation but same occupational group as desired job*	11	14	24	26	30	31	33	27	39	40	25	28
A different occupational group to desired job*	4	11	26	19	20	27	36	21	42	28	23	21
Was uncertain about future aspirations at 1st interview	—	—	4	2	7	8	5	—	—	2	3	2
Insufficient information	2	—	6	6	—	—	2	10	3	4	3	4
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	56	37	51	54	41	38	42	48	34	47	224	224

* Including a few people who succeeded in entering their desired occupations, but subsequently changed to a different type of work.

NB For people who had yet to obtain a job at the 1st interview, jobs at the 2nd interview have been substituted for current/last jobs at the first interview.

Table 4.9 Comparison of minimum qualifications required for entry to first and last occupations by number of job changes over the five years

Minimum level of qualifications* required for entry to final occupation was:	Had stayed with same employer		Had changed employers								Total	
			Once		Twice		3-4 times		5 or more times			
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
Higher than ...	% 11	% 14	% 29	% 30	% 22	% 24	% 17	% 15	% 12	% 17	% 18	% 20
The same as ...	89	84	59	61	54	63	57	69	62	64	66	67
Lower than for first occupation	—	3	12	9	24	13	26	12	26	19	16	12
Insufficient information	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	1
Net rise (+) or fall (–) in required minimum level of qualifications for final occupation	+11	+11	+17	+21	–2	+11	–9	+3	–14	–2	+2	+8
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	56	37	51	54	41	38	42	48	34	47	224	224

* According to the Heg Scale (see Volume 1, Appendix III).

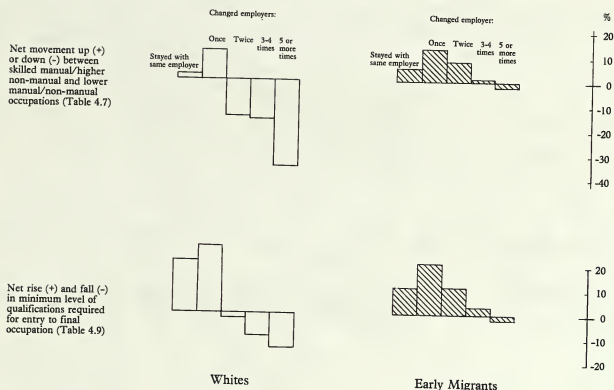
two occupational strata. It shows that in both ethnic groups the people who were most likely to benefit from changing their jobs were those who had moved just once. Thereafter, the benefits accruing from job changing rapidly declined. But the point of especial interest is that although very frequent job changing tended to be distinctly disadvantageous to Whites, it was *not* so for West Indians. The West Indians who changed jobs twice still tended to benefit thereby, and even when the West Indians had had as many as five or more job changes there is little indication of it having a deleterious effect on the general standard of their final occupations, whereas a third of the Whites who had had five changes or more, ended up in jobs of a lower grade than those with which they had begun their careers.

Table 4.8 looks at the association between job mobility and the fulfilment of vocational aspirations. Once again, it shows that Whites who were very mobile tended to be less successful: those who changed their jobs three times

or more being much less likely to end up in their preferred occupations, and twice as likely to have to resign themselves eventually to accepting work in a different occupational group to the one they had originally aimed for. The data on the West Indians is much more erratic. Although West Indians who had five or more job changes tended to be less successful in fulfilling their ambitions, those who had had changed employers three or four times fared nearly as well as those who had moved only once. Moreover, West Indians who changed jobs fairly frequently were much less likely than the equivalent Whites, to end up in jobs of a totally different type to what they wanted.

However, when jobs are classified according to the minimum qualifications usually required for entry (Table 4.9), we find that the changes in job quality over time appear to be much less unfavourable to the Whites than the shifts in the nature of the occupations implies (see Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2 Movements between occupational strata and changes in academic level of jobs by number of job changes over the five years



There are two reasons for why the alternative methods of assessing the general level of jobs produce such different results; both arise from the wide variation in the standard of jobs within each occupational group. Firstly, when people changed to a different job within the same occupational group, although their new work was of a similar type to before, it was not necessarily at the same level. For example, although the white women's occupational group distributions remained largely unchanged throughout the five years, the socio-economic grouping and Heg Scale ratings of their jobs show that there was a noteworthy improvement in the standard of their jobs over time (see Tables 3.3 and 3.6). Secondly, many of the jobs classified as skilled manual or higher non-manual required a level of qualifications for entry that was in fact no higher than for many lower manual/non-manual occupations. It will be recalled that earlier we found that there had been a general movement by West Indians out of lower grade occupations over the five years, but that the skilled manual and higher non-manual jobs they acquired were often of an inferior standard, as compared to those of the Whites (see Table 3.7). At the same time there was a contrary flow of white men out of (low standard) junior non-manual jobs into semi-skilled manual work (see Chapter 3). In both instances, therefore, despite the change in the nature of their occupations, the minimum qualifications required for entry to their new jobs were often very similar to those of the jobs from which they had departed. It is for these reasons we find that despite the considerable movement between occupational groups, the overall change in the academic level of jobs proved to be relatively small (see Table 4.9). Never-

theless, the data is interesting in that it shows that the Whites who had moved from low standard jobs in the upper two occupational strata (into lower manual/non-manual occupations) tended to be people who had had many job changes. Also, even after allowance is made for the variations in the quality of the jobs obtained by Whites and West Indians, within the two upper strata, it still appears to be true that frequent job changing tended to be especially disadvantageous to Whites. The tendency for job changing to appear to have had a less deleterious effect on the careers of West Indians may at first sight seem a little odd. It becomes less puzzling, however, when we recall that their initial jobs tended to be of an inferior standard to those of the Whites, and that consequently the West Indians' jobs had a greater potential for improvement. This is illustrated by the reasons people gave for voluntary job changes: Whites being more concerned to improve their conditions of employment and less concerned than were West Indians, in later years, with the nature of their work. A further contributory factor was the tendency, remarked on earlier, for West Indians to adhere more tenaciously to their ambitions (see Volume 1, Chapter 10). Thus, whereas Whites strayed further and further, as the number of their job changes increased, from the type of employment for which they had originally aimed, the West Indians tended to keep more closely to their chosen career paths (see Table 4.8).

We need to be wary, however, about how the lack of success associated with frequent job changing is interpreted. People who had many job changes also

tended to be poorly qualified. They therefore had less chance of securing good employment, unless they were able to improve their qualifications through part-time further education, which relatively few succeeded in doing (see Table 7.4). Consequently, although a history of frequent job changing would almost certainly have added yet further to their handicaps when seeking fresh employment, the original cause of the propensity of such people to keep changing their jobs probably lay in the poor quality of the work they were able to secure when first leaving school and their discontent therewith. The connection between high levels of job mobility and deficiencies in education is very well demonstrated in the replies given by our informants when we asked them to review their careers (see Table 4.10).

The connection between job mobility and an inadequate education

We noted earlier that by the third interview, just over three years from when our informants left school, people had begun to settle down in their work and to change their

jobs much less frequently. This was an opportune time, therefore, to get our informants to review the difficulties they had encountered during their initial transition from school to paid employment. Each person was asked whether, when looking back over his/her employment since leaving school, there were "any things you would have done differently had you known then how they were going to work out?". In addition, we asked people if they had any regrets about their education (see Appendix IV, Leaver's Third Interview Questionnaire, Questions 73 and 74). The summarised answers, cross-tabulated by job mobility, in Table 4.10, show that, in both ethnic groups, the more frequently people changed their jobs the more likely they were to have misgivings about their careers. Educational inadequacies were a very common source of regret, particularly amongst West Indians. Moreover, the more difficulty people had had finding permanent employment the more they were disposed to attribute their problems, at least in part, to a lack of educational qualifications. Amongst people who had had two or more jobs during the three years, as many as a third of the

Table 4.10 Leaver's retrospective feelings about his/her education and employment, three years after leaving school by number of job changes

	Had stayed with same employer		Had changed employers						Total	
			Once		Twice or more					
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
Had no regrets about his/her education or employment	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	61	46	46	38	25	26	42	34		
<i>Regrets about education</i>										
Wishes had stayed on at school/gone to college to improve qualifications	11	15	15	31	25	44	18	34		
Wishes had taken more appropriate subjects at school	3	4	2	3	4	4	3	4		
Wishes had worked harder at school/further education	1	2	2	5	4	7	3	6		
Wishes had left school earlier:										
Because additional qualifications had proved of no value	7	8	4	—	9	2	7	9	3	6
To get an apprenticeship	—	2	2	—	4	5	2	3	3	
Other answers about school/further education	5	4	4	—	1	2	3	2		
<i>Regrets about employment</i>										
Wishes had taken a job which provided training/apprenticeship/day release	4	6	9	3	20	14	12	9		
Regrets taking a job involving training (or a particular type of training)	4	2	7	5	1	—	4	2		
Regrets nature of occupation entered	5	15	13	12	10	10	9	12		
Wishes had entered an occupation with (better) prospects/pay/conditions	4	4	9	5	8	4	7	4		
Wishes had had a clearer idea of what to do when left school/received better guidance	3	4	2	5	7	8	4	6		
Other answers about choice of career	5	6	—	—	5	4	4	3		
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	74	52	54	64	96	108	224	224		

NB The totals of each column exceed 100% because people frequently had more than one misgiving.

The above table, although dealing with the situation up to the 3rd interview, has been confined (like the other related tables) to the samples remaining at the 4th, in order to make it fully comparable with the others.

Whites and more than a half of the West Indians now wished that they had been better qualified when starting work. The most mobile Whites were also particularly prone to have misgivings about the nature of the jobs they had gone for, although once again it is significant that their most common regret was also linked to the acquisition of qualifications, that is that they had neglected, or been unable, to secure jobs which afforded opportunities to obtain a sound vocational training.

It is clear, therefore, that frequent job changing was symptomatic of an unsatisfactory transition from school to work, and that in the eyes of the leavers, an important contributory cause of their difficulties was that they had left school inadequately prepared. What is particularly interesting, however, is that although the Whites and West Indians started their working careers with very similar qualifications, the West Indians were much more conscious of their educational inadequacies. This may be partly because the West Indians were aiming for jobs which had more demanding entrance requirements, but there can be little doubt that a major factor was that, as was well demonstrated in the first part of our report, West Indians had a greater need to be well qualified for the jobs they were after, if they were to stand a reasonable chance of getting them (see Volume 1, Chapter 7).

Summary

There were two distinct phases to job mobility. During the first phase, which lasted for about three years, there was considerable movement between jobs (especially among the less qualified) as people who were dissatisfied with the employment they had first secured on leaving school tried to seek out jobs that were more to their liking. Thereafter, the frequency of movement between jobs fell to an average rate of about one job change every three to

four years. The rapid decline in job mobility during this latter period was probably accentuated by the increasing scarcity of vacancies resulting from the approaching economic recession.

By the end of three years most Whites had settled into their chosen occupations and their voluntary job changes from thereon were aimed primarily at gaining improvements in their conditions of employment. As West Indians tended to be less satisfied with the nature of their occupations they were more concerned (particularly during the last two years) with trying to obtain more congenial work.

Although most people, when they changed jobs, considered their new employment to be an improvement, they were often less than fully satisfied, and as time progressed people grew less and less pleased with their changes of employment. There was also a close association (especially among the Whites) between the frequency of job changing and the successfulness of people's careers. Although one change was often beneficial, thereafter, the more often people moved the more likely they were to find themselves in work of an inferior standard, increasingly distant from the type of occupation which they had originally wanted. Job changing was less deleterious to the careers of West Indians, largely because the employment they first acquired was often of a relatively low grade and they therefore had less to lose by changing it.

One of the most common reasons for people having very unsettled careers was that they had difficulty obtaining satisfying employment because of the inadequacy of their education. This was very pertinent to West Indians, as they had an especial need to be well qualified if they were to stand a good chance of securing the jobs they wanted.

5 Unemployment

When we examined the efforts that people had made to get employment and the means they used to search out vacancies, when first leaving school, it was found that although all West Indians tended to have more difficulty in finding suitable employment, as compared with equivalent white leavers, their problems were exacerbated if they had a low standard of education, were recent immigrants, or lived in an area where job vacancies were relatively scarce (see Volume 1, Chapter 7). The aim of this chapter will be to see whether these trends persisted into later years, and what effect the general rise in levels of unemployment in the last two years of the survey had upon the various groups of leavers.

Variations in unemployment over the five years

Table 5.1 shows the proportions of informants who were currently unemployed, or not seeking work, at each interview stage. It provides only a very rough indication of the general trends in unemployment over the five years, as it does not tell us how long the unemployed had been without work, nor does it take account of spells of unemployment that occurred between interviews. Nevertheless, it is significant that at every stage throughout the survey, in both sexes, in both areas, and at all educational levels, the highest unemployment rates were among the West Indians. Also, from the second interview onwards, there appears to have been a reversal in the fortunes of the Early and Later Migrants. When they first left school the Later Migrants found it particularly hard to get work and in consequence they were more likely to be unemployed at the time of the first interview. But the table shows that, thereafter, it was the Early Migrants who were most often found to be unemployed. This appears to be because, from the second interview onwards, the Later Migrants tended to change their jobs less frequently.

The other main point of interest in the table is the increase in the numbers who were unemployed at the fourth interview. Although it was only toward the end of the survey that the economic recession began to have a serious impact, it is notable that the less qualified West Indians were very quickly affected. Thus, Table 5.1 shows that a quarter (26%) of the Early Migrants in the bottom educational stratum were unemployed and looking for work at the final interview; more than double the proportion (11%) of the equivalent Whites.

The people who are shown in Table 5.1 as not looking for work were for the most part women who had given up their employment because of pregnancy, but intended to seek for work again later.

The next two tables examine the amount of unemployment that people had during various periods. Table 5.2

compares the total length of time the matched pairs were out of work over the five years. It confirms that Early Migrants tended to be more vulnerable to unemployment than Whites of the same sex, age, education and area: the number of instances where the White was out of work for longer (31%) being much exceeded by the 58% of cases where the West Indian had had more unemployment.

Table 5.3 shows how unemployment rates fluctuated over time; and how the susceptibility to unemployment varied between men and women, between the three educational strata, and by area. The central part (b) indicates the general trends; the top and bottom parts illustrate the range in the level of unemployment within each subgroup. As the intervals between interviews were not constant, to make it easier to see how unemployment rates changed over time, the average lengths of unemployment shown in the middle panel have been expressed as at an annual rate.

The middle part of the table shows that after the first interview (once most people had got their first jobs) unemployment levels were generally very low, until the economic recession began to take effect. But the impact of the recession was by no means uniform. Its effects were more severe in Birmingham. Even during the last two years the white Londoners remained relatively unaffected. It is also noteworthy that although the West Indian men and women had similar difficulty in obtaining work when they left school, toward the end of the survey the men had much more unemployment than the women. The most surprising change, however, is the reversal in the fortunes of the Early and Later Migrants. When they first left school, it was the Later Migrants who found it particularly difficult to get work, but the table shows that in later years it was the Early Migrants who had the most unemployment.

It is also interesting to note the way in which educational differences affected the susceptibility to unemployment, at different periods. Although, amongst both Whites and West Indians, it was invariably the people in the bottom educational stratum who were most likely to experience unemployment, it was not until the last two years of the survey that the less qualified Whites began to be badly affected, whereas their West Indian counterparts had exceptionally high levels of unemployment throughout even when (during the first three years) job vacancies were more plentiful.

Figure 5.1 shows how the general prevalence of unemployment changed during the six years of fieldwork. The bottom panel indicates the dates when each interview stage took place (separately for the Year 1 and Year 2

Table 5.1 Employment status at each interview by sex, educational level and area

Employment status at each interview	1st interview			2nd interview			3rd interview			4th interview		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
<i>Sex: Males</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Employed	94	88	79	96	94	95	92	88	91	96	79	88
Unemployed (but seeking work)	6	12	21	2	6	5	7	10	9	3	18	9
Not in employment and not seeking work	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	2	—	1	2	2
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	125			125			125			125		
<i>Females</i>												
Employed	94	84	83	97	89	94	94	87	98	82	75	85
Unemployed (but seeking work)	6	16	17	3	7	4	6	4	2	10	14	9
Not in employment and not seeking work	—	4	—	—	4	2	—	9	—	8	11	6
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	99			99			99			99		
<i>Educational level: Low</i>												
Employed	91	75		93	81		89	84		90	65	
Unemployed (but seeking work)	9	25		6	16		10	11		11	26	
Not in employment and not seeking work	—	2		1	2		1	5		9	9	
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	81			81			81			81		
<i>Medium</i>												
Employed	94	89		98	96		95	89		96	86	
Unemployed (but seeking work)	6	11		1	1		5	7		4	12	
Not in employment and not seeking work	—	—		1	2		—	4		—	2	
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	85			85			85			85		
<i>High</i>												
Employed	97	97		100	100		95	90		93	81	
Unemployed (but seeking work)	3	3		—	—		5	3		3	10	
Not in employment and not seeking work	—	—		—	—		—	7		3	9	
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	58			58			58			58		
<i>Area: London</i>												
Employed	93	90		96	92		95	87		95	78	
Unemployed (but seeking work)	7	10		1	7		4	8		3	18	
Not in employment and not seeking work	—	—		3	1		—	5		3	4	
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	76			76			76			76		
<i>Birmingham</i>												
Employed	94	84		92	97		91	88		87	77	
Unemployed (but seeking work)	6	16		6	3		8	7		8	16	
Not in employment and not seeking work	—	—		2	—		1	5		5	7	
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	148			148			148			148		

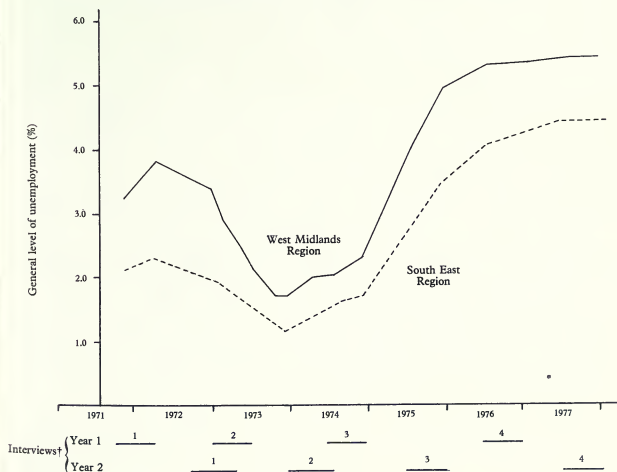
Table 5.2 Total length of unemployment of matched pairs over the five years

Early Migrants Length of unemployment	Matched Whites									Total
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	
<1 week (a)	4% 9	4% 9	4% 9	2% 4	1% 2	2% 4	0% 1	0% 1	—	39
1 week <1 month (b)	4% 8	1% 3	1% 3	2% 4	0% 1	2% 5	0% 1	—	0% 1	26
1 month <2 months (c)	6% 13	4% 10	2% 5	0% 1	1% 2	0% 1	0% 1	—	0% 1	34
2 months <3 months (d)	3% 7	2% 5	2% 5	1% 2	1% 2	2% 4	0% 1	—	—	26
3 months <6 months (e)	4% 10	2% 5	2% 5	1% 3	2% 4	2% 5	0% 1	—	0% 1	33
6 months <1 year (f)	5% 12	1% 2	3% 6	2% 4	1% 3	0% 1	1% 2	0% 1	0% 1	32
1 year <18 months (g)	4% 9	1% 3	2% 4	0% 1	0% 1	—	0% 1	0% 1	—	20
18 months <2 years (h)	0% 1	1% 2	0% 1	—	—	0% 1	—	—	—	5
2 years or more (i)	1% 2	1% 2	0% 1	1% 2	—	0% 1	0% 1	—	—	9
Total	71	41	38	21	15	22	9	3	4	224

Base
(= 100%)

samples). There are no figures published, by region, for the specific age-band of our informants, so in Figure 5.1 we can only show changes in the *general* level of unemployment in each area. It should also be noted that unemployment rates vary considerably, not only by age and ethnicity¹, but also (as we have shown in Table 5.3) according to educational levels – and our informants were by no means representative, educationally, of the general run of workers of their age group. Furthermore, the Department of Employment figures relate only to the registered unemployed, whereas the survey data includes all periods when people were without jobs (providing they were actively seeking work) whether or not they had registered. The graph in Figure 5.1 provides, therefore, only an approximate guide to the way that labour market conditions at each stage of the survey may have affected our informants. Nevertheless, Figure 5.1 is useful in that it gives a broad indication of the general situation, in the two areas, at the times of our interviews. The graph confirms that the fluctuations in levels of unemployment were particularly sharp in Birmingham – as is evident from the area unemployment rates for our samples in (the middle part of) Table 5.3. The very high average lengths of unemployment (in the table) during the first six months after our informants left school (in 1972–73) are, of

Figure 5.1 General level of unemployment 1971–1977 in West Midlands and South East Regions*



* Source: Employment Gazette, 1971–77

† From beginning of interviews with Easter Leavers to end of interviews with Summer Leavers (see Volume 1 Chapter 2, pages 6–7)

Table 5.3 Length of unemployment during each follow-up period and between jobs by sex, educational level and area

	Sex					
	Males			Females		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>(A) Total time unemployed (over the five years)</i>						
Less than 1 week	34	12	23	29	24	26
1 week <1 month	14	11	16	23	12	17
1 <2 months	14	14	7	20	17	8
2 <3 months	9	11	5	10	12	4
3 <6 months	9	18	12	4	11	13
6 months <1 year	11	15	21	8	13	21
1 year <18 months	6	11	7	2	6	4
18 months <2 years	2	4	7	1	—	6
2 years or more	2	4	2	2	4	—
<i>(B) Average length of unemployment in weeks (expressed as at an annual rate) during:</i>						
The first 6 months (from school to 1st interview)	5.2	10.8	12.4	4.8	10.4	14.4
The following 15 months (from 1st to 2nd interview)	1.8	2.3	4.1	0.5	3.1	3.5
The following 18 months (from 2nd to 3rd interview)	2.1	3.9	1.5	1.1	1.8	2.0
The final 2 years (from 3rd to 4th interview)	3.0	6.2	5.5	3.3	3.8	2.8
Average over the five years	2.8	5.3	4.9	2.2	3.9	3.2
<i>(C) Average length of unemployment between jobs:</i>						
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Less than 1 week	41	28	32	53	57	26
1 week <1 month	34	33	29	35	23	41
1 <2 months	10	15	3	1	7	12
2 <3 months	4	8	19	5	5	3
3 <6 months	5	10	6	4	8	12
6 months or more	5	5	10	1	1	6
Bases (A) and (B) = all leavers at 4th interview	125		43	99		47
(C) = those who had had two or more jobs	93	99	31	75	88	34

course, because the survey data includes the time when the leavers were seeking their first jobs. The data in Table 5.3 and Figure 5.1 are, therefore, really only comparable for the period subsequent to the first interviews. But both sets of data indicate that during the last two years in both areas, but especially in Birmingham, the general level of unemployment rose considerably.

The effect of frequent job changing on unemployment

People's vulnerability to unemployment was also influenced by how often they changed jobs. As Table 5.4 shows, long periods of unemployment were by no means

confined to people who had frequent job changes, and some people succeeded in changing their work several times at the cost of very little unemployment; but, nevertheless, as the table demonstrates, there was a general tendency for the period of unemployment to rise rapidly as the number of job changes increased. This helps to explain why (during later years) West Indian men tended to have much more unemployment than did women; why, despite it taking them longer to get jobs (see Table 5.3(c)) the Later Migrants' annual rates of unemployment, in later years, were lower than the Early Migrants'; and why less qualified Whites and West Indians tended to be out of work for longer than their better qualified peers. For in each instance, we find that the group with the greater

	Educational level						Area			
	Low		Medium		High		London		Birmingham	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>(A) Total time unemployed (over the five years)</i>										
Less than 1 week	22	7	40	15	33	34	30	22	32	15
1 week <1 month	16	14	20	11	19	10	26	13	14	11
1 <2 months	21	7	13	18	17	22	22	17	14	14
2 <3 months	7	7	7	18	16	9	15	11	7	12
3 <6 months	9	19	7	14	3	10	1	14	9	15
6 months <1 year	14	20	8	14	7	7	3	9	14	17
1 year <18 months	5	12	4	8	3	5	1	9	5	9
18 months <2 years	2	6	1	—	—	—	1	1	1	3
2 years or more	4	7	—	2	2	2	—	3	3	5
<i>(B) Average length of unemployment in weeks (expressed as at an annual rate) during:</i>										
The first 6 months (from school to 1st interview)	6.2		4.3		5.4		3.6		6.0	
		13.6		10.4		6.6		6.2		12.8
The following 15 months (from 1st to 2nd interview)	1.6	5.1	1.2	1.3	0.5	1.2	1.1	2.5	1.2	2.7
The following 18 months (from 2nd to 3rd interview)	2.3	4.7	0.9	2.2	1.8	1.7	0.6	2.2	2.2	3.3
The final 2 years (from 3rd to 4th interview)	5.9	7.8	2.0	4.0	1.9	3.2	1.1	4.2	4.2	5.6
Average over the five years	3.9	7.1	1.8	3.7	2.0	2.7	1.3	3.6	3.2	5.2
<i>(C) Average length of unemployment between jobs:</i>										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Less than 1 week	41	24	51	50	50	58	53	46	43	39
1 week <1 month	38	35	32	23	32	27	42	35	31	25
1 <2 months	3	15	7	10	10	7	—	9	9	12
2 <3 months	9	10	2	7	2	—	2	3	6	8
3 <6 months	7	14	5	7	—	4	—	5	7	11
6 months or more	3	3	3	3	5	4	4	2	3	4
<i>Bases (A) and (B) = all leavers at 4th interview</i>										
<i>(C) = those who had had two or more jobs</i>										
	69	81	59	85	40	58	53	76	115	148
		72		70		45		65		122

amount of unemployment also had a higher level of job mobility (see Table 4.2). However, whilst more frequent job changing undoubtedly increased people's vulnerability to unemployment (particularly for those, like the less qualified, who tended to find it harder to get work), we need to bear in mind that the frequency of job changing was itself constrained by the ease with which people were able to secure alternative employment. As we have already observed, this is probably one of the reasons that the rate of job changing declined so rapidly in later years, and why the Later Migrants were generally less job mobile. In addition, people's motivation to change jobs also varied. When they first left school West Indians not

only took longer to find employment, they also tended to get inferior jobs; in consequence they had greater reason to wish to change their occupations, and when they were able to do so it often proved to be beneficial to their careers (see Chapter 4). But the people most likely to benefit from job changing were those who had good reason to be dissatisfied with the current work. When the source of their discontent was that they were inadequately qualified for the jobs they sought (as was the case with many people in the bottom educational stratum), changing jobs was unlikely to help and their restiveness only resulted in higher levels of unemployment (see Chapter 4).

Table 5.4 Total length of unemployment over the five years by number of jobs

Total length of time unemployed over the five years	Total number of jobs							
	Whites				Early Migrants			
	1	2	3-4	5 or more	1	2	3-4	5 or more
Less than 1 week	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1 week <1 month	68	43	17	—	40	30	9	3
1 <2 months	11	14	20	23	19	15	20	9
2 <3 months	4	6	14	14	19	7	15	7
3 <6 months	2	4	8	14	3	15	12	24
6 months <1 year	4	6	8	23	8	9	17	19
1 year <18 months	—	2	9	4	3	4	9	16
18 months <2 years	—	2	—	4	3	—	—	6
2 years or more	—	—	2	6	—	2	6	6
Average length of unemployment (weeks)	2.5	7.7	14.2	27.6	9.7	12.4	26.5	36.4
Bases (all leavers at 4th interview)	56	51	66	51	37	54	65	68

Table 5.5 If leaver reported to Careers/Employment Office when unemployed

If reported to Careers/ Employment Office	When seeking 1st job for 2 or more weeks		When unemployed between jobs for:			
			1-3 weeks		4 or more weeks	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes/always	67	94	42	53	85	84
Sometimes	—	—	5	8	4	8
No/never	33	6	53	39	11	8
Base	64	118	57*	62*	97*	159*

* Bases represent totals from all three follow-up interviews.

Table 5.6 Reasons people gave for having difficulty finding work

Reasons given by leaver for having difficulty finding work	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%
Lack of vacancies	54	29
Dissatisfaction with type of jobs on offer	34	19
Lack of experience	13	16
Lack of qualifications	8	15
Colour/race prejudice	—	22
Other reasons	23	17
No particular reason/ don't know	17	23
Base*	98	156

* Persons who had been unemployed at least once, for four weeks or more, since the previous interview - totals for all three follow-up interviews.
NB The columns add to more than 100% because many people gave more than one reason for their having had difficulty finding work.

Reasons people had difficulty finding work, and whether registered

If people took two weeks or more to find work when leaving school, and each time they were subsequently unemployed for a week or more, we enquired whether they had registered at their local Careers/Employment Office. In addition, whenever people were without work for a month or more, we asked them what they thought

were the reasons for their having difficulty getting employment.

As we observed in the first part of the report (see Volume 1, Chapters 6 and 7), in addition to being a source of advice about suitable careers, the Careers Service also acted as the channel through which a large proportion of leavers obtained their first jobs. This was particularly true of West Indians, nearly all of whom (94%) went to the Careers Office for help if they had not found employment within two weeks (see Table 5.5). Thereafter, if people were without work for only a short time they often did not bother to report to the Careers or Employment Office. When people were unemployed for a month or more, however, four out of five invariably went to register, and only one in ten never did so. Many of the latter were married women, or persons who were already receiving supplementary benefits (such as some unmarried mothers) for whom registration offered no financial advantage.

The most notable feature of Table 5.6, which shows the reasons our informants thought they had difficulty getting work, is the high proportion (22%) of Early Migrants who mentioned discrimination. The main problem for Whites was simply that there was a shortage of (suitable) vacancies.

Summary

Throughout the five years of the survey the West Indians continued to have greater difficulty finding work, particularly when, during the last two years, job vacancies became more scarce. The level of unemployment amongst the less qualified West Indians was especially high, and at the final interview as many as 26% of the Early Migrants in the bottom educational stratum were out of work, as compared with 11% of the equivalent Whites. People's vulnerability to unemployment was also much affected by how often they changed jobs. As they tended to get inferior employment when they first left school the West Indians had greater reason to wish to change their occupations. Their ability to do so, however was constrained by the availability of alternative employment.

People who found it very difficult to get other work (such as the Later Migrants) tended to change jobs less frequently. When alternative opportunities were more readily available (as was the case with Early Migrants in London) job changing often enabled people eventually to enter more congenial occupations, albeit at the cost of making themselves vulnerable to further periods of unemployment. But the people who were most restive and most prone to suffer from high levels of unemployment were the less educated Whites and West Indians, whose difficulties very often stemmed from their being under-qualified for the jobs that they sought.

Reference

¹ Unemployment and ethnic groups. *Employment Gazette*, June 1984.

6 Ways of finding new jobs

When we examined how our informants had found their initial employment on leaving school, we discovered that although West Indians had explored all ways of finding jobs at least as assiduously as had Whites, they were less successful than were Whites in getting work through advertisements, direct approaches to employers, or through the assistance of friends and relatives. West Indians, the less qualified especially, had therefore to rely disproportionately on the help of Careers Officers. One of the main interests in the following data, therefore, is to see to what extent these difficulties persisted into later years (see Volume 1, Chapter 7).

At each interview, if the informant had obtained a new job since our last visit, we asked how his/her current employment had been secured. By comparing the answers we were given at successive interviews we can observe how behaviour gradually changed over time.

The first two tables are confined to Whites and Early Migrants, as the methods used by the two West Indian groups were found to be very similar and the number of job changes amongst the Later Migrants was too small to withstand detailed analysis.

Changes over time in the ways employment was obtained

The first table demonstrates that from the second interview onwards the Careers Service (or, later on, the Employment Offices) were increasingly supplanted by

alternative avenues to employment. With the diminishing role of official agencies, personal contacts and advertisements became the most important sources of employment for both Whites and West Indians, providing them both with approximately a half of their new jobs during the final two years. The proportion of vacancies secured by West Indians through private agencies and applying directly to employers also increased in later years. But the tendency for Whites to be more successful in obtaining work through non-official channels still persisted. Although, during the final period, relatively few jobs were obtained through official agencies (17% of the Early Migrants' and 7% of the Whites') it is noteworthy that throughout the whole period of the survey the West Indians continued to rely on the services of such agencies to a greater extent than did Whites. We shall examine some of the possible reasons for this presently.

Occupational differences in the methods by which jobs were obtained

Table 6.1 shows that the major changes in the methods by which people obtained new employment took effect as from the second interview – one year, nine months from when they had left school. Thenceforth, although the role of official agencies continued its decline, the general pattern of the means by which people obtained fresh employment remained fairly constant. As the number of job changes in each period was not enough to permit a

Table 6.1 How jobs were obtained during each follow-up period

Job was found through:	Current/last job at 1st interview		Jobs* newly acquired at:							
			2nd interview		3rd interview		4th interview			
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Answering an advertisement	22	14	28	21	27	22	19	25		
Careers Service or Employment Office	30	60	14	30	9	13	7	17		
Private employment agency	7	6	11	8	11	16	9	11		
A friend or relative	18	10	24	21	23	28	29	25		
Direct application to an employer	16	6	13	16	17	11	17	11		
Other means†	6	2	11	2	12	9	19	11		
Insufficient information	1	2	—	1	—	1	—	—		
Base‡	221	215	95	103	81	104	75	72		

* The current jobs of persons who had changed jobs since the previous interview.

† Including jobs obtained through a Joint Industry Training Board, the General Nursing Council, Secretarial Colleges etc and, especially toward the end of the survey period, by a contact with (or through) a previous employer.

‡ All persons in the 4th interview sample who had obtained a job by the first interview, and those in employment at each subsequent interview who had changed employers since our previous visit.

Table 6.2 Summary of methods by which new jobs were obtained subsequent to the first interview by sex, educational level, occupational group and area

New job obtained through	Sex				Educational level					
	Male		Females		Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Answering an advertisement	25 (17)	22 (12)	26 (29)	23 (17)	19 (19)	17 (8)	28 (26)	26 (17)	32 (21)	26 (19)
Careers Service or Employment Office	14 (40)	27 (67)	4 (17)	12 (52)	17 (27)	25 (69)	7 (30)	20 (64)	3 (34)	14 (44)
Private employment agency	3 (2)	5 (2)	21 (13)	20 (10)	8 (8)	10 (4)	12 (6)	9 (5)	12 (7)	20 (9)
A friend or relative	28 (17)	31 (10)	22 (18)	16 (10)	28 (18)	30 (11)	24 (17)	23 (6)	23 (19)	18 (14)
Direct application to an employer	17 (17)	8 (5)	13 (14)	20 (8)	20 (22)	11 (5)	14 (13)	11 (6)	10 (12)	18 (7)
Other means*	13 (6)	6 (2)	14 (6)	7 (2)	9 (6)	6 (—)	14 (6)	10 (—)	20 (7)	3 (5)
Insufficient information	— (1)	1 (2)	— (2)	1 (2)	— (1)	— (3)	— (2)	2 (1)	— (—)	— (2)
Base†	146	157	105	122	101	109	90	105	60	65
Occupational group						Area				
Higher non-manual		Skilled manual		Lower man/non-manual		London		Birmingham		
Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Answering an advertisement	30 (29)	26 (18)	15 (21)	24 (16)	29 (6)	17 (6)	23 (24)	31 (14)	26 (21)	17 (14)
Careers Service or Employment Office	6 (20)	8 (50)	14 (40)	31 (66)	15 (42)	17 (66)	11 (29)	19 (53)	9 (30)	21 (65)
Private employment agency	18 (13)	24 (14)	3 (—)	3 (1)	2 (—)	11 (2)	16 (9)	15 (11)	8 (5)	10 (3)
A friend or relative	20 (16)	16 (5)	31 (18)	27 (11)	29 (22)	31 (15)	23 (13)	20 (12)	27 (20)	28 (9)
Direct application to an employer	13 (14)	15 (9)	20 (15)	11 (5)	15 (22)	16 (2)	13 (16)	10 (7)	17 (16)	14 (6)
Other means†	13 (7)	9 (1)	17 (5)	4 (1)	10 (6)	8 (4)	13 (7)	4 (—)	14 (6)	9 (3)
Insufficient information	— (1)	1 (3)	— (1)	1 (—)	— (3)	— (4)	— (1)	1 (4)	— (1)	1 (1)
Base†	127	91	78	113	41	64	82	106	169	173

NB Figures in brackets show the proportions of current/last jobs at the first interview which were obtained by each method, from Volume 1 Table 7.8.

* See note to Table 6.1.

† All current jobs at the 2nd, 3rd and 4th interviews which had been acquired since the previous interview.

separate breakdown by occupational group and the leaver's educational level, we have, therefore, combined all job changes about which information was collected, from the second interview onwards, to obtain a sufficiency of numbers for the more detailed analysis which follows.

Table 6.2 shows that although the shift from official agencies to non-official channels was evident in all occupational groups, the variations in the types of jobs

obtained by the alternative methods continued much as before. Advertisements and particularly private agencies continued to be most important as sources of higher non-manual work, whilst personal contacts and official agencies were used more frequently to obtain jobs in manual and lower non-manual occupations.

One of the reasons for the changes in the manner in which people obtained jobs in subsequent years was that they were seeking to enter different types of occupation. Thus,

the relatively large rise in the use of advertisements or private agencies by West Indians (particularly amongst women, the less qualified and in London) was at least partly a reflection of their subsequent movement out of semi-skilled manual into higher non-manual occupations to which these methods were the most common avenues (see Chapter 2).

Leavers' opinions about the merits of alternative ways of seeking work

At the final interview we also asked our informants for their opinions on the relative merits of alternative ways of finding work. Firstly, each person was asked "*What do you think would be your most likely way of getting a new job?*" Then, West Indians were asked if there were any methods they thought it best to *avoid* because of the danger of discrimination. The answers to both questions are summarised in Table 6.3.

It needs to be remembered when comparing people's answers in Table 6.3 with how jobs had actually been obtained (in Table 6.1) that the bases are different. Table 6.1 relates only to people who had changed their jobs during each period of the survey, whereas Table 6.3 includes everyone in the fourth interview sample, a substantial proportion of whom had had only one job since leaving school and therefore will not have had any personal experience of seeking a job recently on which to base their opinions. This may partly account for the lack of realism in some of their answers. A comparison between what were expected to be the most fruitful methods, with how jobs had actually been procured, shows that all three groups of informants tended greatly to overrate the chances of getting a job through responding to advertisements and to underestimate the value of personal contacts. Thus, Table 6.1 shows that over the last two years the proportion of new jobs obtained by Early Migrants through each of these two methods was identical (25%), whereas as many as 44% thought that advertisements would be their most likely avenue to success, compared to only 5% who favoured enlisting the help of a friend or relative. A similar divergence between expectations and reality is evident in the answers given by the Whites.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Table 6.3, however, is the relationship it reveals between the methods which West Indians thought would be the most successful and their opinions about where they were most likely to encounter discrimination. Well over a half of both the Early and the Later Migrants considered that they had to bear in mind the possibility of discrimination when deciding upon the methods by which they would seek new employment. Approximately a third thought it best to eschew a direct approach to an employer, to ask if the firm had a vacancy, and one in five considered it wise to avoid *telephoning* in response to an advertisement. The two avenues which were regarded as being largely free from discrimination were official agencies and (not surprisingly) friends and relatives. However, only in one respect do these views appear to have had a consistent effect on how, in practice, the West Indians thought they would be

Table 6.3 Opinions about most likely ways of getting new jobs and where discrimination was most likely to be encountered

Method lever thought was the most likely way to get a (new) job and (in brackets) the method/s best avoided because of discrimination	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
An Employment Office or Job Centre	19	17 (5)	26 (2)
A private employment agency	6	12 (11)	6 (10)
Writing in answer to an advertisement	21	23 (12)	29 (11)
Telephoning in answer to an advertisement	30	21 (21)	24 (22)
By applying direct to an employer	17	22 (36)	13 (30)
The assistance of a friend or relative	5	5 (3)	2 (1)
Other means	2	0 (0)	— (—)
Proportion who said there were one or more methods that were best avoided because of the possibility of discrimination	—	62%	57%
Bases (all leavers at 4th interview)	224	224	90

NB The total of the methods best avoided exceeds the percentage of persons who thought so, because many respondents mentioned more than one method.

most likely to get a new job, whereas the Whites' answers show that they tended to think they stood a better chance of securing an advertised vacancy if they telephoned rather than wrote in response, the West Indians were more likely to favour writing. One of the reasons often given by West Indians for wishing to avoid telephoning being that if the caller spoke with a noticeable accent the employer would recognise that the person was a West Indian and reject him/her immediately, before giving proper consideration to the person's qualifications for the job.

The answers in respect of direct applications to employers were inconsistent. Although both groups of West Indians agreed that this was the avenue most likely to lead to discrimination, the Early Migrants still rated their chances of getting a job in this way as relatively good.

This question also proved to be one of the few instances where our informants' answers appeared to be influenced by the ethnicity of the interviewer. Although the overall pattern of the answers was the same, regardless of who conducted the interview, it was found that people who were interviewed by a West Indian were more likely to mention the possibility of discrimination when making direct applications to an employer. Later Migrants (but not Early Migrants) interviewed by West Indians tended also to give greater stress to the advisability of avoiding the use of a telephone when responding to an advertisement (see Appendix I).

Summary

When they left school people made extensive use of the Careers Service, but subsequently, when they sought fresh employment, an increasing proportion found work

through non-official channels: the two sources which were of greatest importance in later years being advertisements and personal contacts. The general tendency to shift from official agencies to alternative means of obtaining employment was accentuated, amongst the West Indians, by their subsequent movement out of semi-skilled manual into the higher non-manual occupations for which advertisements and private agencies were a more fruitful source of vacancies. However, although during the final period of the survey relatively few jobs were obtained through official agencies, it is noteworthy that at all stages the West Indians continued to rely upon their services to a greater degree than did Whites.

The leavers' opinions about the relative merits of alternative ways of seeking work showed that they tended greatly to overrate their chances of getting a job through responding to an advertisement and to underestimate the value of soliciting help from their friends and relatives. It was also found that some West Indians were deterred from using the telephone when answering an advertisement, from fear that employers might recognise their accents. West Indians were especially wary of discrimination when approaching employers directly, to ask if they had any vacancies. In contrast, government employment agencies were generally regarded as being free from discriminatory practices.

7 Vocational training and further education

Earlier it was found that when they first left school the West Indians, especially girls, showed much more enthusiasm for part-time further education than did their White counterparts. Also, as was to be expected, access to Day Release, Sandwich or Block Release courses, which required the employer to grant time off from work for attendance, largely depended on whether the leaver was part of a formal training scheme at his/her place of employment – apprentices being especially favoured. Girls, however, generally benefited much less from such facilities and had more often to pursue their studies in their own time, in the evenings. In addition, West Indian skilled manual workers were less successful in securing apprenticeships and when they did so they were less likely to get Day Release. In all types of occupation, however, when people were not afforded time off from work to attend classes, West Indians of both sexes were much more likely than were Whites to go to them in their own time (see Volume 1, Chapters 8 and 11).

One of the subjects of particular interest in this chapter is the extent to which the West Indians' initial drive to gain further qualifications was maintained in later years and how far such endeavours assisted them in their careers. As the type of course attended was closely linked to whether the person was part of a formal training scheme at his/her place of employment, we shall start by examining how membership of such schemes varied between the various sub-groups and over time.

Participation in training schemes at the place of employment

The most striking feature of the first part of Table 7.1, apart from the considerable difference between the sexes on which we have already commented, is the way in which membership of training schemes at the place of work fell dramatically as time progressed. The proportion of Whites undergoing some kind of formal training on-the-job started its decline from the first interview, but accelerated rapidly during the final three years, so that at the end of the five years virtually none were still serving apprenticeships and very few were still designated 'trainees'. Similarly for the West Indians, except that Later Migrant men and both groups of West Indian women showed a small increase between the first and the second interviews in the proportions undergoing training; thereafter, as with the Whites, the relative number of apprentices and trainees rapidly declined. We observed earlier that the standard of the initial jobs secured by these groups had tended to be especially poor and that a relatively high number were unemployed at the first interview. The belated rise (after the first interview) in the numbers participating in formal training schemes reflects

the subsequent improvement in the standard of their jobs and the concurrent reduction in their levels of unemployment*. Table 7.1 shows that in the case of the West Indian women, the rise in the proportions in training was associated with a notable increase in the number of student nurses. Many of these girls had always wanted to become nurses but had to delay their entry to the profession until they were eighteen years old†.

The next section of Table 7.1 shows, as one might expect, that it was the better qualified people who were most likely to be in training schemes – this was particularly so among the West Indians. The greater success with which well qualified West Indians were able to secure jobs offering good facilities for vocational training is most easily illustrated by the variation in the proportions of skilled manual workers who had apprenticeships. Thus, for example, at the first interview the proportions of Early Migrants in skilled manual occupations, in the bottom, middle and top educational strata were 48%, 43% and 39%, respectively (see Table 3.1), whereas the corresponding proportions with apprenticeships were 13%, 25% and 27%. If the number of apprentices is expressed as a percentage of the number of people in skilled manual work, it indicates that in the bottom, middle and top educational strata the proportions of West Indian skilled manual workers with apprenticeships was 27%, 58% and 69%, respectively; the equivalent figures for the Whites were 44%, 66% and 48%. The number of white skilled manual workers with apprenticeships in the top stratum is surprising low, but is probably explained in part by the exceptionally high proportion (21%) designated as 'trainees'.

The particularly small proportion (27%) of West Indian skilled manual workers in the bottom educational stratum who had apprenticeships (as compared to 44% of the corresponding group of Whites) confirms our earlier observation that the less qualified West Indians often found it very difficult to get satisfactory employment, and

* See Tables 3.2 and 3.6. It should also be noted that in Table 7.1 the proportions of apprentices and trainees at the first interview is higher (especially among Later Migrants) than in the corresponding Table 8.5 in Volume 1, because the latter table includes all persons who had had a job – including those who had subsequently become unemployed. As unemployed people tended to have had jobs in the bottom stratum (see Chapter 3) they were much less likely to have been apprentices or trainees.

† The minimum age for a nursing studentship. A few girls entered (at a younger age) as nursing cadets, but most pursued alternative employment until they reached the requisite minimum age for a studentship. In some cases, also, the delay in entering nursing was because people needed to gain further educational qualifications to qualify for SRN training.

Table 7.1 Training status in current job at each interview by sex, educational level and area

Training status in current job	1st interview			2nd interview			3rd interview			4th interview		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sex: <i>Males</i>												
None	45	43	53	49	47	49	67	57	64	93	97	100
Apprentice	30	38	29	29	31	34	22	24	21	1	—	—
Trainee	25	19	18	22	22	17	11	18	15	6	3	—
Student/cadet nurse	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Base (all currently employed)*</i>	117	110	34	120	118	41	115	110	39	120	99	38
<i>Females</i>												
None	81	88	79	85	75	73	94	87	83	99	95	95
Apprentice	5	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trainee	13	8	18	7	8	11	2	3	7	1	1	3
Student/cadet nurse	1	4	3	5	17	14	4	9	11	—	4	3
<i>Base (all currently employed)*</i>	93	83	39	96	88	44	93	86	46	81	74	40
<i>Educational level: Low</i>												
None	68	74	—	73	71	—	81	75	—	92	96	—
Apprentice	14	13	—	11	8	—	6	9	—	2	—	—
Trainee	16	13	—	13	18	—	11	13	—	6	4	—
Student/cadet nurse	1	—	—	3	3	—	3	3	—	—	—	—
<i>Base (all currently employed)*</i>	74	61	—	75	66	—	72	68	—	65	53	—
<i>Medium</i>												
None	60	61	—	63	57	—	76	64	—	96	96	—
Apprentice	25	25	—	26	23	—	20	17	—	—	—	—
Trainee	16	13	—	11	10	—	5	14	—	4	3	—
Student/cadet nurse	—	1	—	—	10	—	—	4	—	—	1	—
<i>Base (all currently employed)*</i>	80	76	—	83	82	—	81	76	—	82	73	—
<i>High</i>												
None	59	52	—	59	48	—	82	73	—	98	96	—
Apprentice	14	27	—	12	21	—	9	15	—	—	—	—
Trainee	21	18	—	24	22	—	6	6	—	2	—	—
Student/cadet nurse	7	4	—	5	9	—	4	6	—	—	4	—
<i>Base (all currently employed)*</i>	56	56	—	58	58	—	55	52	—	54	47	—
<i>Area: London</i>												
None	65	65	—	74	59	—	86	70	—	96	97	—
Apprentice	18	19	—	16	16	—	10	8	—	—	—	—
Trainee	15	16	—	8	13	—	3	20	—	4	3	—
Student/cadet nurse	1	—	—	1	13	—	1	3	—	—	—	—
<i>Base (all currently employed)*</i>	71	68	—	73	70	—	73	66	—	72	59	—
<i>Birmingham</i>												
None	59	61	—	61	60	—	75	71	—	95	96	—
Apprentice	19	23	—	17	18	—	13	17	—	1	—	—
Trainee	19	14	—	19	18	—	10	8	—	4	2	—
Student/cadet nurse	2	2	—	3	4	—	2	5	—	—	3	—
<i>Base (all currently employed)*</i>	139	125	—	143	136	—	135	130	—	129	114	—

* Those still remaining in the sample at the 4th interview, who were currently in employment at each interview stage.

shows that their skilled manual jobs tended to be of an especially low standard (see Table 3.7 and Volume 1, Chapter 7).

Most of the other variations in the relative numbers of apprentices and trainees, in Table 7.1, such as those between London and Birmingham, are accounted for by differences in occupational distributions (see Table 3.1).

History of attendance on courses of part-time further education

Table 7.2, which follows, summarises attendance on courses of part-time further education over the five years, for all persons in each group. Here, as in Volume 1, we have distinguished between courses at which attendance required time off from work, such as Day Release, Sandwich and Block Release courses, and those where people had to pursue their studies entirely in their own time, in the evenings.

It is immediately apparent from Table 7.2 how the decline in membership of formal training schemes at the place of work was accompanied by a reduction in the availability of Day Release facilities, but that the tail-off in attendance at Day Release classes was more gradual. Thus, whereas by the end of the survey very few people were still designated as apprentices or trainees, Table 7.2 shows that an appreciable number were continuing to be granted time off from work to attend vocational training courses. This suggests that although no longer formally regarded as 'learners' some people were still being encouraged by their employers to continue to improve their vocational qualifications, by allowing them to carry on attending courses during working hours.

Evening attendances unaided by time off from work show even less evidence of a decline. Although the number of persons beginning a course of this type for the first time was very small during the last three years, those who were continuing courses through evening classes that had been started previously through evening classes or Day Release, tended to *increase* over the years. This was no doubt partly in response to the gradual withdrawal by employers of the facility to attend courses during working hours, and illustrates the determination of people to improve their qualifications. As a consequence, we find that whereas when they first entered employment, participation in further education by men was predominantly through Day Release, at the end of the five years voluntary attendance in their own time in the evenings only was nearly as frequent as attendance with the aid of Day Release. The West Indians' outstanding willingness to attend classes in the evenings, in their own time, when they failed to obtain Day Release facilities ensured, however, that throughout the five years the West Indian men's overall attendance rates were invariably higher than those of the Whites.

As we observed earlier, the enthusiasm of West Indians for further education was particularly strong amongst the women. As women were generally less likely to benefit from membership of formal training schemes or to get Day Release, at their places of employment, they had very

frequently to pursue their studies in the evenings, after work. Despite this disadvantage, Table 7.2 shows that the proportions of West Indian women who attended courses was actually *higher* than amongst their male counterparts, at every stage of the survey, whereas the white female attendance rate was invariably lower than the male. In consequence, the divergence in the levels of attendance between the female groups was especially large: more than four out of five of the West Indians having attended courses at some time during the five years, as against about a half of the Whites.

The educational level section of Table 7.2 illustrates that the greater ease with which better qualified leavers were able to obtain apprenticeships etc (see Table 7.1) was also manifest in the proportions benefiting from Day Release. The variation in the standard of the facilities for vocational training afforded in the jobs of people in the different educational strata is in fact even more pronounced when viewed in terms of how often they were given time off from work to attend classes. Once again, the association between the leaver's educational level and the level of the training provision at the place of work was stronger with the West Indians: the proportions of Early Migrants who were given Day Release when they first left school falling sharply from 48% in the top educational stratum, to 32% in the middle and only 15% in the bottom stratum. A similar decline is also evident amongst the Whites, but with Whites it was much less steep.

As is to be expected, in view of the strong association between skilled manual occupations, apprenticeships and Day Release, in both ethnic groups attendance through Day Release tended throughout the survey to be higher in Birmingham.

Additional qualifications obtained after leaving school

The next three tables show how successful people were in securing additional qualifications through further education; the nature of the qualifications they obtained; and the relevance of these qualifications to their final jobs. As with the courses they attended, we have disregarded anything which was for recreational purposes only. The qualifications described here were therefore all strictly vocational or academic. Also, where an individual sat examinations in the same subject at progressively higher levels, we have counted it only once, at the highest level at which he/she obtained a pass.

Table 7.3 summarises the types of qualifications obtained over the five years and shows that the majority of the additional qualifications obtained by men were in the form of certificates awarded under the City and Guilds scheme - mostly in technical and craft subjects - whereas the vocational orientated qualifications obtained by women were predominantly in secretarial/commercial subjects (through the Royal Society of Arts) or paramedical (mainly SRN and SEN). As many as 14% of the Early Migrant women, but far fewer in the other groups, also passed in (further) GCE subjects, at the O and A level. In Tables 7.4 and 7.5 these latter qualifications have been classified as 'academic', to distinguish them from

Table 7.2 History of attendance on courses of further education by type of course, sex, education and area

	1st interview			2nd interview			3rd interview			4th interview			
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Sex: Males													
Was now attending a course for the first time through:													
Day Release*	38	40	35	10	6	7	2	2	7	2	2	—	
Evenings only	2	14	14	1	2	7	2	2	4	—	2	5	
Was continuing a course started previously, or had started another course through:													
Day Release*	..	..	..	27	31	30	20	29	23	7	14	19
Evenings only	..	..	..	3	5	5	6	7	14	6	8	12
Total currently attending a course of further education through:													
Day Release*	38	40	35	37	37	37	22	31	30	9	16	19	
Evenings only	2	14	14	4	7	12	8	9	18	6	10	17	
Had attended a course previously but was now no longer doing so	..	..	..	10	18	14	26	26	26	42	43	42
Had never attended a course of further education	60	46	51	49	38	37	44	34	26	42	30	21	
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	125			125			125			125			43
Females													
Was now attending a course for the first time through:													
Day Release*	16	17	13	8	8	4	—	2	—	1	2	2	
Evenings only	15	43	32	4	6	21	2	3	6	3	2	2	
Was continuing a course started previously, or had started another course through:													
Day Release*	..	..	..	12	12	15	5	11	13	4	8	13
Evenings only	..	..	..	6	16	9	9	18	18	9	30	18
Total currently attending a course of further education through:													
Day Release*	16	17	13	20	20	19	5	13	13	5	10	15	
Evenings only	15	43	32	10	22	30	11	21	24	12	32	20	
Had attended a course previously but was now no longer doing so	..	..	..	13	33	21	29	46	40	31	41	45
Had never attended a course of further education	69	39	55	57	25	30	55	20	23	52	16	19	
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	99			99			99			99			47

* Including Sandwich and Block Release Courses etc, but mainly Day Release. Students attending this type of course were very often also required to attend in the evenings in their own time.

Table 7.2 continued

	1st interview		2nd interview		3rd interview		4th interview	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Educational level: Low								
Was now attending a course for the first time through:								
Day Release*	12	15	7	9	4	1	—	5
Evenings only	9	20	—	6	4	4	5	1
Was continuing a course started previously, or had started another course through:								
Day Release*	..	..	9	6	6	9	9	6
Evenings only	..	..	2	10	3	12	5	15
Total currently attending a course of further education through:								
Day Release*	12	15	16	15	10	10	9	11
Evenings only	9	20	2	16	7	16	10	16
Had attended a course previously but was now no longer doing so	..	..	10	18	19	28	22	33
Had never attended a course of further education	79	65	72	51	64	46	59	40
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	81		81		81		81	
Medium								
Was now attending a course for the first time through:								
Day Release*	38	32	13	7	—	3	1	—
Evenings only	8	29	5	4	1	3	2	2
Was continuing a course started previously, or had started another course through:								
Day Release*	..	..	26	24	18	22	4	15
Evenings only	..	..	5	9	10	14	7	15
Total currently attending a course of further education through:								
Day Release*	38	32	39	31	18	25	5	15
Evenings only	8	29	10	13	11	17	9	17
Had attended a course previously but was now no longer doing so	..	..	15	28	36	37	54	48
Had never attended a course of further education	54	39	36	28	35	21	32	19
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	85		85		85		85	
High								
Was now attending a course for the first time through:								
Day Release*	36	48	7	5	—	—	—	2
Evenings only	7	33	2	—	2	—	—	3
Was continuing a course started previously, or had started another course through:								
Day Release*	..	..	29	45	17	31	6	14
Evenings only	..	..	5	8	9	14	12	26
Total currently attending a course of further education through:								
Day Release*	36	48	36	50	17	31	6	16
Evenings only	7	33	7	8	11	14	12	29
Had attended a course previously but was now no longer doing so	..	..	9	28	26	41	34	47
Had never attended a course of further education	57	19	48	14	47	14	46	9
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	58		58		58		58	

Table 7.2 continued

	1st interview		2nd interview		3rd interview		4th interview	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Area: London</i>								
Was now attending a course for the first time through:								
Day Release*	25	29	10	8	1	1	1	4
Evenings only	5	29	1	4	3	3	3	1
Was continuing a course started previously, or had started another course through:								
Day Release*	..	..	16	21	9	13	3	7
Evenings only	..	..	5	8	9	15	5	17
Total currently attending a course of further education through:								
Day Release*	25	29	26	29	10	14	4	11
Evenings only	5	29	6	12	12	18	8	18
Had attended a course previously but was now no longer doing so	..	..	9	29	24	42	37	50
Had never attended a course of further education	70	42	59	30	54	26	51	20
<i>Bose (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	76		76		76		76	
<i>Birmingham</i>								
Was now attending a course for the first time through:								
Day Release*	30	30	9	7	1	2	—	1
Evenings only	9	26	3	3	2	3	3	2
Was continuing a course started previously, or had started another course through:								
Day Release*	..	..	26	24	16	25	7	14
Evenings only	..	..	—	10	6	10	9	18
Total currently attending a course of further education through:								
Day Release*	30	30	35	31	17	27	7	15
Evenings only	9	26	3	13	8	13	12	20
Had attended a course previously but was now no longer doing so	..	..	13	22	29	31	38	39
Had never attended a course of further education	61	44	49	34	46	29	43	26
<i>Bose (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	148		148		148		148	

* Including Sandwich and Block Release Courses etc, but mainly Day Release. Students attending this type of course were very often also required to attend in the evenings in their own time.

those which were of a specialised vocational character. But for most, if not all, of the people who took them they undoubtedly had a vocational significance, either in the sense that improvements to a person's basic education would almost certainly be advantageous to anyone in a 'white collar' occupation, or alternatively, that (as with someone aspiring to be a State Registered Nurse) the additional qualifications were often required in order to qualify for entry to the occupation or type of vocational training that was the person's ultimate objective.

Table 7.3 also shows that people who left school with a relatively good education were more successful in securing further qualifications, particularly in 'academic' subjects. The Early Migrants in the top educational stratum were outstandingly successful: nearly three quarters obtaining some kind of additional qualification, as compared with less than a half of the equivalent Whites.

Table 7.3 Qualifications obtained over the five years by type of qualification, sex, educational level and area

Qualifications obtained over the five years	Sex					
	Males			Females		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	60	59	51	74	62	59
O/A levels	2	5	7	4	11	4
RSA	—	1	2	13	13	21
City and Guilds	30	37	35	—	—	—
HNC/ONC	3	—	2	—	—	—
Nursing examinations (SEN/SRN or NNEB)	—	—	—	5	14	13
Other examinations*	12	5	16	9	11	6
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	125			99		

	Educational level						Area			
	Low		Medium		High		London		Birmingham	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	81	83	58	60	56	29	73	61	62	60
O/A levels	2	1	2	6	5	24	4	11	3	8
RSA	2	2	11	6	7	10	9	7	5	5
City and Guilds	5	9	25	21	22	36	14	13	18	24
HNC/ONC	1	—	1	—	3	—	1	—	2	—
Nursing examinations (SEN/SRN or NNEB)	2	2	—	11	5	5	1	9	3	5
Other examinations*	7	4	12	8	14	12	7	13	13	5
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	81		85		58		76		148	

* Mainly taken at Secretarial Colleges, Government Training Centres etc, including various para-medical and other professional qualifications.

NB Where the columns total to more than 100% it is because some people obtained more than one type of qualification.

In keeping with the occupational characteristics of the two areas, we find that Londoners, of both ethnicities, in addition to being a little less likely to get further qualifications, also aimed more for academic, secretarial or commercial subjects, whereas people in Birmingham tended to concentrate on the technical and craft subjects in which the City and Guilds system specialises.

Although it is apparent from Table 7.3, that West Indian women were generally more successful than their white contemporaries in getting additional qualifications through further study, overall the attainments of the men were very similar in all three groups. Moreover, with both sexes, the relative number of additional qualifications secured by West Indians was less than commensurate with the much greater frequency with which they had taken courses (see Table 7.2). In the following two tables we shall see how this came about.

The importance of part-time further education as a source of vocational qualifications

Table 7.4 relates attainment of further qualifications to frequency of attendance on courses, and shows if people had already obtained any vocationally orientated qualifications before leaving school. We have also indicated, with respect to the qualifications obtained from each source, whether they were relevant to the person's final job at the end of the five years.

The table confirms that the failure rate amongst West Indians who tried to improve their qualifications through further education was much higher than among Whites. Also, women (both white and West Indian) tended to be appreciably less successful than their male counterparts. As might be expected, people who left school with a fairly good standard of education were the most likely to succeed. Failure rates were also consistently lower in Birmingham.

Table 7.4 Summary of vocational qualifications obtained through further education or from school, and whether relevant to final job by sex, educational level and area

	Sex					
	Males			Females		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
(A) Had obtained through further education:						
(i) Vocational qualifications relevant to final job	30	32	40	17	30	30
(ii) Vocational qualifications not relevant to final job	8 } 40	6 } 41	9 } 49	7 } 26	4 } 38	7 } 41
(iii) Further academic qualifications only	2	3	—	2	4	4
Had attended a course of further education but failed to obtain any qualifications thereby	18	30	30	23	46	41
Had never attended a course of further education	42	30	21	51	16	18
(B) Had left school with a vocationally oriented qualification* that was:						
(i) Relevant to final job	3 } 6	8 } 10	12 } 12	33 } 45	23 } 35	26 } 35
(ii) Not relevant to final job	3	2	—	12	12	9
(C) All persons with vocationally oriented qualifications (either from school or further education) that were relevant to their final jobs	32	37	40	45	46	45
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	125			99		
(D) Proportion who had attended a course of further education who succeeded in acquiring a qualification (vocational or academic)	69%	59%	62%	53%	46%	50%
Base (persons who had attended courses of further education)	73	88	34	49	83	39

	Educational level					
	Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
(A) Had obtained through further education:						
(i) Vocational qualifications relevant to final job	14	12	29	37	32	50
(ii) Vocational qualifications not relevant to final job	4 } 19	5 } 17	9 } 42	2 } 40	10 } 44	9 } 71
(iii) Further academic qualifications only	1	—	4	1	2	12
Had attended a course of further education but failed to obtain any qualifications thereby	21	43	25	41	12	21
Had never attended a course of further education	60	40	32	19	45	9
(B) Had left school with a vocationally oriented qualification* that was:						
(i) Relevant to final job	1 } 5	1 } 2	24 } 35	25 } 32	28 } 35	19 } 31
(ii) Not relevant to final job	4	1	11	7	7	12
(C) All persons with vocationally oriented qualifications (either from school or further education) that were relevant to their final jobs	15	14	48	55	55	59
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	81		85		58	
(D) Proportion who had attended a course of further education who succeeded in acquiring a qualification (vocational or academic)	47%	28%	63%	49%	79%	78%
Base (persons who had attended courses of further education)	32	49	57	69	33	53

* The subjects classified as 'vocationally orientated' for this purpose were: Shorthand, Typing, Book-keeping, Accounts, Commerce, Office Studies, Building, Building Construction, Engineering, Engineering Studies, Workshop Practice and Theory.

NB Some persons obtained vocational qualifications from both school and further education, consequently the sum of A(i) and B(i) is greater than C.

Table 7.4 *continued*

	Area			
	London		Birmingham	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%
(A) Had obtained through further education:				
(i) Vocational qualifications relevant to final job	21	32	26	31
(ii) Vocational qualifications not relevant to final job	5	4	9	5
(iii) Further academic qualifications only	1	3	3	4
Had attended a course of further education but failed to obtain any qualifications thereby	22	42	19	34
Had never attended a course of further education	51	20	43	26
(B) Had left school with a vocationally orientated qualification* that was:				
(i) Relevant to final job	28	22	11	11
(ii) Not relevant to final job	8	4	7	7
(C) All persons with vocationally orientated qualifications (either from school or further education) that were relevant to their final jobs	42	43	36	40
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	76		148	
(D) Proportion who had attended a course of further education who succeeded in acquiring a qualification (vocational or academic)	54%	49%	67%	54%
Base (persons who had attended courses of further education)	38	61	84	110

* The subjects classified as 'vocationally orientated' for this purpose were: *Shorthand, Typing, Book-keeping, Accounts, Commerce, Office Studies, Building, Building Construction, Engineering, Engineering Studies, Workshop Practice and Theory.*

NB Some persons obtained vocational qualifications from both school and further education, consequently the sum of A(i) and B(i) is greater than C.

We do not have the necessary background information to account adequately for all these variations. In particular, it was impracticable to attempt to assess the relative difficulty of the great variety of qualifications which our informants were striving to achieve. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that an important contributory factor was the strong positive correlation between success rates and access to Day Release, or similar facilities which gave employees time off from work to attend courses (see Table 7.2). Again, it was not feasible to produce a reliable comparison of success rates on courses pursued with the aid of Day Release, with those of people who had to do all their studying in the evenings as not infrequently people moved from one method to the other when they changed jobs and when, as we observed earlier, toward the end of the survey some continued their studies through evening classes if their employers no longer allowed them to attend during working hours. But a comparison of the figures in Tables 7.2 and 7.4 shows that the more that people had to rely on evening classes the less likely they were to succeed. In view of the effort and determination required to gain further qualifications solely through evening class attendance this is not surprising. But it also illustrates that the ability of people to gain further qualifications through part-time further education was often limited by the inadequacy of the training facilities afforded by their employers. As a consequence, despite their willingness to attend classes, the West Indians in particular, often failed to achieve anything by their endeavours.

The other main point of interest in Table 7.4 is the variation in the proportions who left school with vocationally orientated qualifications. As most of the subjects taught at school which had a specialised vocational application were directed toward secretarial, commercial and nursing occupations, in this instance it was the women who had the advantage. As many as 45% of the white women and 35% of the West Indians left school with qualifications of this kind, which may be one of the reasons that white women felt less need to enter courses of part-time further education (see Table 7.2 *et seq.*). Only 6% of the white and 10%–12% of the West Indian men started work similarly equipped. These divergences are of some importance because, as Table 7.4 shows, when (after excluding qualifications which ultimately proved to be irrelevant to people's final occupations) the vocational qualifications acquired at school are combined with those gained subsequently through further education, we find that it alters the picture quite considerably. When qualifications gained at school are also taken into account it suggests that women were ultimately somewhat *better* qualified for their jobs, than were men. Thus, in the three female groups, we find that 45%–46% had vocationally orientated qualifications (either from school or further education) that were relevant to their final jobs, compared to 32%–40% of the men. The comparison is very crude, of course, as it does not take account of variations in the levels of the qualifications obtained – those from school being no doubt often of a relatively elementary standard – but it

suggests that the lack of opportunities for vocational training in the occupations most frequently entered by women was partially compensated for by the greater occupational relevance of their school education.

Table 7.5 cross-tabulates the same data as presented in Table 7.4, by the occupational group of each person's final job. This shows that the final outcome of the various trends discussed above was that the Whites and West Indians within each occupational group finished up very similarly qualified for the jobs they were doing. It needs to be borne in mind, however, that had they been more successful in their endeavours at further education some of them would undoubtedly have been in different occupations – a point which has particular relevance to the West Indians. This is illustrated by the characteristics of the people in lower manual/non-manual occupations. It is hardly surprising that, as Table 7.5 shows, they were generally very poorly qualified, or that such qualifications as they had secured through school or further education seldom had any relevance to the work they were doing. What is more noteworthy is that this was not necessarily for want of trying to better their position, as the exceptionally high proportions who had tried but failed to gain better qualifications through part-time further education well demonstrates.

Summary

After the first two years of employment, participation in training schemes at the place of work declined rapidly, so that at the end of five years hardly anyone was still an apprentice, or designated as a 'trainee'. The decline in the role of such schemes was also reflected in the availability of Day Release, or similar facilities which granted employees time off from work to pursue courses of

further education. As the availability of Day Release was reduced, so employees had increasingly to rely on attending classes in their own time, in the evenings, after work, though some people no longer formally regarded as being in training appeared still to be permitted by their employers to attend part-time courses during working hours.

From the time they left school, the West Indians (the women in particular) showed themselves to be exceptionally keen to gain good vocational qualifications, and the West Indian rate of attendance on courses of part-time further education was consistently higher than that of Whites, throughout the five years. But because of the limited availability of Day Release (particularly in the occupations most often entered by women) many of the West Indians had to pursue their studies independently, in the evenings.

Most of the additional vocational qualifications acquired by men through part-time courses were in technical and craft subjects; whilst the women's were chiefly in secretarial and commercial subjects, or nursing. The successfulness of people's endeavours to gain further qualifications through part-time study varied considerably. However, men fared better than women, Whites were more successful than West Indians, and people who left school with a relatively good basic education did better than the less educated. In every instance, it was found that the variation in success rates was closely linked with access to Day Release: the group having the higher level of attendance by Day Release being invariably the more successful. As the jobs secured by the less qualified leavers seldom afforded them Day Release this seriously limited their chances of advancing their careers through gaining

Table 7.5 Summary of qualifications obtained through further education or from school, and whether relevant to final job by occupational group

	Occupational group of current/last job at final interview					
	Higher non-manual		Skilled manual		Lower manual/non-manual	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
(A) Had obtained through further education:						
(i) Vocational qualifications relevant to final job	25	35	45	40	2	5
(ii) Vocational qualifications not relevant to final job	5 } 33	5 } 48	3 } 48	1 } 41	11 } 17	8 } 13
(iii) Further academic qualifications only	3	8	—	—	4	—
Had attended a course of further education but failed to obtain any qualifications thereby	22	36	11	34	27	42
Had never attended a course of further education	43	15	40	24	56	45
(B) Had left school with a vocationally oriented qualification* that was:						
(i) Relevant to final job	31 } 42	24 } 31	6 } 9	11 } 12	— } 4	— } 15
(ii) Not relevant to final job	11 } 3	7 } 3	3 } 1	4 } 1	4 } 15	15 } 1
(C) All persons with vocationally oriented qualifications (either from school or further education) that were relevant to their final jobs	51	51	48	46	2	5
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	106	101	62	82	55	40

* See notes to Table 7.4

vocational qualifications by part-time study. Also, because of the difficulties people had getting further qualifications solely through evening classes, although the West Indians were especially keen to try to improve their vocational qualifications this way their efforts were often ill-rewarded.

Although the occupations that women most frequently entered were badly lacking in opportunities for vocational training (and Day Release), as compared with the types of employment more generally open to men, the women had the advantage of being much more likely to have acquired vocationally orientated qualifications whilst still at school.

Part II Attitudes and behaviours at work

8 General attitudes toward work and vocational training

This chapter has two main purposes: to examine the manner in which the employment objectives of our informants were modified as they became older and more experienced, and to see to what extent the parents' attitudes toward work and to the acquisition of vocational qualifications were shared by their children. We shall start by looking at the importance that people attached to different aspects of their employment after they had been at work for about three years, as compared to their outlooks when they first left school.

The relative importance of different aspects of employment

We deliberately confined our questions at the first interview to the things that we judged to be most pertinent to young people who were just starting work. By the third interview, as our informants had by this time had considerable experience of employment and many had had two or three jobs, it was reasonable to ask them for their views on a much wider range of topics. On this second occasion, as the number of issues on which we sought our informants' opinions was much greater, it was no longer feasible to ask them simply to place the items in order of importance, which was the procedure we had adopted earlier (see Volume 1, Chapter 4). Instead, each person was given a self-completion questionnaire which asked the informant to indicate how much importance he/she attached to each of eighteen different facets of employment, and then to select, from the topics which were regarded as most important, the four which were considered as having the top priority, and to place them in order of precedence. (For fuller details of the procedure used, see Appendix IV, Interview 3 Questionnaire, Questions 46 and 48.) People were asked to rank the top four only because at the first interview (when they had been asked to rank seven items) it had been found that some people had difficulty distinguishing between issues which they felt to be fairly unimportant.

The average rank order given to each item was then calculated for each group of informants. To simplify the presentation of the data, and as the other less important topics did not evince any noteworthy ethnic differences, we shall confine ourselves here to the top ten. (For the full range of issues about which people were asked to express their opinions, the reader should refer to the 3rd Interview Self-completion Questionnaire, Appendix IV.) Table 8.1 illustrates how the order of precedence varied as between

Whites and Early Migrants, and men and women. The Later Migrants have been omitted as their answers followed the same general pattern as those of the Early Migrants.

The table shows that the prime consideration for most Whites and West Indians, of both sexes, was that their work should be as enjoyable as possible. The next thing that the majority wanted was to get on well with their fellow workers. Thereafter, however, opinions frequently differed. Women of both ethnicities were particularly anxious for their supervisors to treat them fairly and that the firms they worked for took good care of the personal welfare of their employees and ensured that their physical working conditions were good, whereas men were generally more concerned about their pay, particularly in respect to how much they could expect to get in the future. It is also notable that *white* women attached less importance, than did men, to the quality of their vocational training and to their opportunities for promotion. In contrast, the West Indian women's attitude toward training and promotion was very similar to the men's. The West Indian women also placed particular stress on having work of which they could be proud. This tendency of the West Indian women to be more career-orientated than their White counterparts, agrees with our earlier conclusions about their attitudes when they first left school (see Volume 1, Chapter 4).

All the topics about which we asked for our informants' opinions at the first interview proved to be included amongst the ten considered most important three years later (see Volume 1, Chapter 4). But as the wording of the questions was not the same, and different methods were used for recording the relative importance of the various items, it is not practicable to make a detailed comparison between the leavers' outlooks when they first left school, and how they felt three years later. Nevertheless, if the answers given at the first and third interviews are examined, it is evident that over the intervening three years there had been two changes (see Volume 1, Chapter 4). At the beginning of their careers the men had placed particular stress on vocational training. By the third interview, however, many had completed their initial job training and in consequence, this issue had become less important to them. Instead, both men and women had become much more concerned about having a *secure* job.

Table 8.1 Relative importance of different aspects of employment, three years after leaving school

Item description	Mean rank order of the top ten items*			
	Males		Females	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
It's the sort of work you really like doing	1	1	1	1
The people you work with are easy to get on with	2	3	2	2
The training or experience you get from the job will help you to obtain a good job somewhere else, if you decide to leave later on	3	2	5	3
It is a secure job (you are unlikely to be dismissed or made redundant)	4	4	3	5
If you stay in the job you can expect to earn a lot more when you are a bit older	5	6	:	:
The people in charge treat you fairly	6	5	4	4
There are opportunities for promotion	7	7	10	6
The present pay (without overtime) is good for someone of your age and qualifications	8	10	7	:
The firm or organisation you work for looks after the personal welfare of its employees very well	9	:	6	8
It's a job you can be proud of	10	9	:	7
You can get help or advice with your work if you need it	:	8	8	10
The physical working conditions are good (the place where you work is not too noisy, dirty, dusty or hot, etc)	:	:	9	9
Base (all leavers at the third interview)	144		129	

* As based on the proportion of people who included each topic amongst the four they considered to be the most important, weighted by the relative numbers choosing each of the positions 1 to 4.
: Not ranked within the top ten.

Rewards for merit, or 'locus of control'

When the leavers first left school we asked their parents a number of questions about their general attitudes toward employment. Their answers showed that there were some interesting differences in the outlooks of the Whites and West Indians. We found, for instance, that although they were very anxious for their children to be well qualified, the West Indian parents were much less confident that this would ensure that they had successful careers (see Volume 1, Chapter 4). We did not ask the school leavers

similar questions at the first interview as we thought that, as they were still very young and had had very little personal experience of employment, their views would tend to be unduly influenced by their parents' outlooks. Instead, we decided to delay asking these questions of the leavers for three years (until the third interview) in order to get a more reliable measure of the extent to which differences in family backgrounds had a lasting effect on the children's attitudes to work. Three years' experience is still not very long and our informants will undoubtedly have continued to modify their views as they gained in age and experience. It was not feasible to delay asking these questions any further, however, as at the time we were uncertain if it would prove practicable to carry out a fourth interview. Despite these limitations, the leavers' answers have proved quite illuminating.

Table 8.2 shows that the West Indian children in particular were much more confident than were their parents that personal abilities and qualifications were the major determinants in getting good jobs and promotion. (For details of how the 'reward for merit' index used in the following tables was constructed, see Volume 1, Appendix III.) The large divergence in outlook between the two generations was probably due in part to differences in their sex, educational and occupational distributions. We addressed these questions only to people who were normally in full-time employment. Most parents who agreed to be interviewed and who satisfied this criterion, were male. In addition, the great majority of the parents had had only a minimal schooling (see Volume 1, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). Thus the parents' views were largely those of men with a relatively low standard of education, whereas their children were frequently much better qualified and there was a large proportion of girls in the sample. A further factor that may have contributed to the divergence in the viewpoints of the two generations is that employers probably tend now to pay more attention to the formal qualifications possessed by young people than was the case when their parents were young, if only because, as a result of the raising of the school leaving age and changes in the examination system, school leavers are nowadays much more likely to have educational qualifications. More cynically, the younger generation's greater faith in the rewards given to ability and qualifications could also be in part the product of the idealism of youth and their lack of experience, particularly in relation to promotion.

Such factors are likely to have affected the attitudes of both Whites and West Indians. The West Indian parents' views about the labour market will, in addition, have been conditioned by their personal experiences of discriminatory practices. The severe handicap from which the West Indian parents had suffered was very well illustrated earlier, by the inferior quality of their jobs and their disenchantment with their prospects of promotion (see Volume 1, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). It is hardly surprising, in these circumstances, that they tended to be much less sanguine about the ways in which the labour market operated, than were the parents of the white school leavers. It is encouraging to find that the West

Table 8.2 'Locus of control' (reward for merit) index: a comparison of the views of parents and children

Comparison of the views of parent and child as to the degree to which one's ability and qualifications were the major determinants in getting good jobs and promotion				
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	
Parent and child had similar opinions	41	34	40	
Child had a higher estimation of the rewards for ability and qualifications	42	55	55	Child +50%
Parent had a higher estimation of the rewards for ability and qualifications	17	11	5	
Base*	213	205	89	

* Leavers with parents in full-time employment who were interviewed.

Indian children felt much more assurance that their abilities and qualifications would be properly rewarded.

However, whilst the younger generation of West Indians were much more optimistic about their employment prospects, than were their parents, the young people's attitudes were by no means uniform. As Table 8.3 demonstrates, outlooks varied considerably, depending on educational level, occupational type and sex. In both ethnic groups, men tended to take a much less favourable view of the labour market, than did women. People in higher non-manual occupations were also more optimistic than those in manual or lower non-manual jobs. Perhaps the most intriguing feature of the table,

however, is the contradictory ways in which educational differences affected outlooks. Thus, whereas the West Indians' confidence in the justice of the labour market was strongly correlated to their educational attainments, the Whites with a better education tended to be rather sceptical.

The divergences in the attitudes of men and women, and between people in the various occupational groups are difficult to interpret. As women were predominantly in higher non-manual jobs and nearly all skilled manual workers were men, it is possible for instance, that the higher non-manual workers' better opinion of their prospects were simply a product of the sex composition of the workforce. Conversely, it could be that the divergence in the outlooks of men and women was largely a reflection of differences in recruitment practices and promotion procedures in the occupations in which they were most commonly employed. On the other hand, the strong linkage between the West Indians' educational levels and their confidence in the rewards given to qualifications and ability, is consistent with our findings throughout the report which show that less qualified West Indians were much more likely to suffer from discriminatory practices. It is particularly significant that the table shows that West Indians in the top educational stratum, who were less affected by discrimination, tended in fact to display greater faith in the justice of the labour market than did similarly qualified Whites. This clearly illustrates how the West Indians' outlooks were influenced by their personal experiences. It also bears out our observations elsewhere, that West Indian attitudes to such matters were generally very realistic (see, for instance, Volume 1, Chapter 12).

Table 8.3 Leaver's 'locus of control' (reward for merit) index by sex, educational level and occupational group

Degree to which it was thought that one's ability and qualifications were the major determinants in getting good jobs and promotion	Sex						Educational level					
	Males			Females			Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
High	38	29	23	55	44	40	47	28	49	35	39	51
Medium	55	65	72	41	52	57	49	66	43	59	58	48
Low	7	6	6	3	4	3	4	6	8	6	3	2
Base (all leavers at 3rd interview)	144			129			104		102		67	
Occupational group												
	Higher non-manual		Skilled manual		Lower manual/non-manual							
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants						
	%	%	%	%	%	%						
	%	%	%	%	%	%						
High	53	45	47	26	32	28						
Medium	44	51	45	67	61	70						
Low	2	4	8	6	6	2						
Base (all leavers at 3rd interview)	125	128	85	96	63	49						

Table 8.4 Men's views on the relative value of apprenticeships and formal education, compared with the views of their parents by leaver's area of residence and educational level

<i>A boy should stay on at school to get a better education, rather than leave at 15 or 16 to take an apprenticeship"</i>												
	Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants							
	Children	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Parents						
	%	%	%	%	%	%						
Fully agree	21	31	18	60	26	67						
Partly agree/depends	38	39	49	26	54	25						
Disagree	41	30	33	14	20	8						
<i>Bases*: Children</i>	144		144		53							
<i>Parents</i>		140		135		53						
Area												
LondonBirmingham												
	Whites		Early Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants					
	Children	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Parents				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
Fully agree	22	30	26	63	21	32	13	59				
Partly agree/depends	35	36	53	20	40	40	47	29				
Disagree	43	34	20	17	40	28	40	13				
<i>Bases*: Children</i>	51		51		93		93					
<i>Parents</i>		51		46		89		89				
Educational level												
	Low				Medium				High			
	Whites		Early Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants	
	Children	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Parents
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Fully agree	20	35	17	59	21	21	20	60	23	43	17	62
Partly agree/depends	29	31	48	22	43	45	48	26	45	39	53	31
Disagree	51	33	35	20	36	34	32	13	32	18	30	7
<i>Bases*: Children</i>	56		56		57		57		31		31	
<i>Parents</i>		55		51		57		54		28		30

* All the children in the third interview sample and their parents. The bases for parents are slightly lower than for children, because a few of the parents were unavailable for interview.

NB The parents' opinions were gathered at the first interview, shortly after the children left school. The collection of the children's views was deliberately delayed until the third interview, approximately three years later, to allow them time to form an independent judgement on the basis of their own experience.

Thus, to sum up, it appears that although the younger generation of West Indians were generally much more confident than were their parents that they would be treated justly by employers, the majority still tended (with good reason) to be less optimistic about their employment prospects, than were Whites of a similar level of education. Early Migrants who had a good education, who were less likely to have experienced discrimination, however, tended to be relatively assured that their abilities and qualifications would be rewarded.

Attitudes toward vocational training

At the first interview we also asked the parents for their views about vocational training (see Volume 1, Chapter 4). To allow the leavers time to formulate an independent judgement on the basis of their own experience, we again waited until the third interview before asking the leavers the same questions. With one important exception, we found that the opinions of the

two generations were broadly similar. Most of the children agreed with their parents' views on the desirability of getting a good vocational training. As before, we found that the West Indians (the girls in particular) tended to be especially conscious of its importance. The main divergence between the views of the parents and their children was in relation to the relative advantages for a boy of staying on at school (to get better educational qualifications) as against leaving early to get an apprenticeship. Although it was found that boys in both ethnic groups did not always share their parents' high opinion of the quality of apprenticeship training, Table 8.4 shows that the boys were nevertheless much *more* in favour of entering apprenticeships. The divergence in the views of the boys and their parents was especially great amongst the West Indians. Whereas the West Indian parents had been much keener, than were the White parents, for their children to gain further educational qualifications, the West Indian boys were far less

convinced of the advantages of remaining at school. But the West Indian boys' preference for apprenticeships was still not as great as that of their White peers, particularly in the case of the Later Migrants. The table also shows, however, that the continued divergence in the appeal of apprenticeship training to Whites and West Indians only occurred in London and amongst the less qualified. Whereas the views of the white leavers (and of both groups of parents) were very similar in both areas, the Early Migrant leavers in London were far less attracted to apprenticeships, than were their counterparts in Birmingham.

As skilled manual employment is less readily available in the London area, the London West Indians' preference for staying on at school to get better educational qualifications seems eminently sensible. The only puzzling aspect of this data, therefore, is why the young Whites in London failed to emulate the example of the young West Indians. A possible explanation is that the West Indians had found that it was relatively harder for them to get good apprenticeships in London. As we have shown elsewhere, when job vacancies became scarce discrimination tended to become more severe (see Volume 1, Chapter 7). It is quite likely, therefore, that West Indians would have found themselves at a particular disadvantage when applying for skilled manual work in London. Whereas, although it generally took people longer to find employment in Birmingham, the competition for non-manual jobs was probably little different from that for skilled manual work. The same factor could also explain why the divergence in the attitudes of the white and Early Migrant leavers toward apprenticeships was largely confined to the less educated. We found earlier, when they first sought employment on leaving school, that under-qualified job applicants were far more likely to be accepted if they were white (see Volume 1, Chapter 7). Discrimination against West Indians was much less acute when they were adequately qualified. Consequently, as no-one in the bottom educational stratum could have satisfied the normal entry requirements for a good apprenticeship, those who were West Indian had only a relatively slim chance of being accepted. This could explain why the less qualified Whites and West Indians were prone to have very different views about apprenticeship training.

These explanations are largely conjectural, of course, but if true they could also help to account for the West Indian parents' keenness for their children to stay on at school to get better educational qualifications, rather than leaving early to try for an apprenticeship. In view of the tendency for West Indian men to be particularly attracted to skilled manual work, this reluctance to recommend early apprenticeships seems paradoxical. Their attitudes become much more understandable, however, when one takes into account the fact that the parents would undoubtedly have learned from their own experience that West Indians needed to be particularly well qualified to gain acceptance into worthwhile employment, and that therefore the first priority for a young West Indian was to

ensure that he/she got a sound education before leaving school.

Willingness to move elsewhere to get a good/better job

One of the perennial problems of the labour market is the difficulty in getting people in depressed areas to move to other localities which offer better opportunities for employment. At the present moment, when unemployment in most parts of the country is very high, this may seem a somewhat academic issue, but at the time of the third interview circumstances were very different. It was reasonable then to ask our informants whether they would be willing to move elsewhere to improve their employment prospects, particularly as they were all relatively young and most were still single and living with their parents. They were therefore at what was probably the most potentially mobile stage of their working lives.

We started by asking each informant in employment if he/she would be willing to move to another part of the country to get a 'better' job. If the person was currently unemployed, we asked if he/she would do so to get a 'good' job. We then enquired as to whether they had any provisos about the distance they would be prepared to move, or about the nature of the area. (For full details of the wording of the questions, see Questions 62 to 66 in the 3rd Interview Questionnaire, Appendix IV.) Answers to questions of this kind are often a poor indicator of how people would actually behave. Our informants' replies, summarised in Table 8.4, should therefore not be taken too literally. They are best treated as a further measure of the relative importance that people attached to their careers, and of the degree of difficulty they had encountered getting suitable work in their home areas.

Most of our informants were prepared to move within their present localities, but we have only counted people as willing to move elsewhere (in Table 8.5) if they were prepared to go outside of the conurbation in which they were presently residing, that is Greater London, for the Londoners, or the West Midlands, in the case of people living in Birmingham.

The table shows that people's attitudes varied quite considerably. West Indians were generally much more willing to consider moving, than were Whites. The white women, in particular, showed a marked reluctance to leave their home localities. Londoners, of both ethnicities, were also less prepared to go elsewhere to get a job, than were people in Birmingham. A large proportion of those who were prepared to move, however, would only do so under certain conditions. One of the most common provisos was that they should not have to go too far from their present homes. Many people also had reservations about the nature of the places to which they would be prepared to move - opinions being equally divided between those who wished to avoid going to an 'industrial' area and those who were averse to a 'country' environment.

The main interest in this data, however, is the further

Table 8.5 Willingness to move elsewhere to get a good/better job* by sex and area of residence

	Sex						Area			
	Males			Females			London		Birmingham	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Willing to move anywhere	23	28	32	17	26	28	16	16	22	33
Would move a limited distance only	6	11	15	6	10	12	4	9	7	12
Would move any distance but with provisos about the type of area	19	16	15	13	20	12	13	16	18	19
Would move only a limited distance and with provisos about type of area	7	15	11	7	12	10	9	16	6	12
Unwilling to move elsewhere	44	29	26	57	30	34	56	41	47	24
Insufficient information	1	1	—	—	1	3	1	1	—	1
Base (all leavers at 3rd interview)	144			129			91		182	

* People currently in employment were asked if they would move to get a 'better' job, and those who were unemployed, if they would do so to get a 'good' job. NB A willingness to move was only counted if the person was prepared to go beyond his/her present locality (that is outside Greater London or Birmingham and its immediate environs).

indication it provides of the difficulties that people had experienced in getting satisfactory employment, and of their willingness to make sacrifices in pursuance of their careers. The West Indians, particularly those who lived in Birmingham, were clearly much more anxious to find better jobs. In addition, the table provides yet a further illustration of the difference in the career-orientation of white and West Indian women.

Summary

Most people, after they had been on the labour market for about three years, considered their most important objectives in employment were to have work which they enjoyed, and to get on well with their fellow workers. In addition, women were particularly anxious that their supervisors treated them fairly, and that the firms they worked for took good care of the general welfare and physical working conditions of their employees. Men were more concerned about their pay. The white women (unlike the West Indians) also attached less importance, than did the men, to the quality of the training they were receiving and to their opportunities for promotion. The main change that had occurred, since our informants first started work, was that they all now paid more attention to their job security.

The West Indians were generally much more confident, than were their parents, that they would be treated fairly

by employers. Those who were well qualified, in particular, were relatively assured that their abilities and qualifications would be well rewarded. However, the majority (who were less well qualified) still felt that their employment prospects were limited, by comparison with the views of Whites who had a similar level of education.

Although the leavers generally agreed with their parents' views on the importance of getting a good vocational training, the boys (especially the West Indians) were more in favour of early apprenticeships and less convinced of the advantages of staying on at school to gain further educational qualifications, than were their parents. The more poorly qualified West Indians in London, however, were less attracted to apprenticeships compared to their counterparts in Birmingham. This was probably because, with the greater competition for good apprenticeships in the London area, a poorly qualified West Indian applicant was less likely to be accepted.

The frustrations that many West Indians felt at being unable to get satisfactory employment was further illustrated by their greater willingness to consider moving to another area, if this would improve their employment prospects. It was particularly noticeable that whereas the white women were reluctant to leave their home localities, the West Indian women were much more prepared to go elsewhere to further their careers.

9 What people thought of their jobs

When they first left school we found that the better qualified Early Migrants, and Whites generally, took a similar (and relatively favourable) view of their employment, but the Later Migrants and the less qualified Early Migrants tended to be dissatisfied with their jobs. The discontent of the West Indians was mostly because they were not so successful at getting the jobs they wanted and often had to accept work that was of an inferior standard to that of Whites with similar qualifications, but a further reason was that West Indians appeared to be less willing to accept unskilled work (see Volume 1, Chapter 9).

Over the following five years there was much job changing, in the course of which many people moved into different types of employment. At the same time, people also began to modify their employment objectives, that is to say, the criteria by which they judged their jobs gradually shifted, as did the reasons they gave for wishing to change their employment (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 8).

When examining the fluctuations in levels of job satisfaction at different interview stages we need, therefore, to try to distinguish between the changes in job satisfaction that were the consequence of people moving into different occupations, from those that were the product of the adjustments in the standards by which our informants assessed their jobs as they grew older.

Job satisfaction

Table 9.1 traces our informants' levels of job satisfaction over the whole period of the survey. This shows that regardless of their sex, educational level or occupational group, at every interview stage it was invariably the West Indians who were the most dissatisfied. In addition, amongst both Whites and West Indians, it was nearly always the men who were the most discontented. As might be expected, job satisfaction was especially low amongst people with lower manual/non-manual occupations.

Although these ethnic, sex and occupational differences were generally present throughout the five years, people's satisfaction with their jobs often rose and fell very erratically, at successive interviews. These fluctuations make it difficult to discern any distinct longitudinal trends. But it is noticeable that in several of the sub-groups there was a sharp decline in satisfaction during the last two years.

Much of the variation in job satisfaction, between interviews, was undoubtedly the result of occupational changes, particularly during the first three years of the survey when job mobility was very high. But as we

observed earlier, at the same time as many people were changing the nature of their work, the general standards by which our informants judged their employment was also altering. In Table 9.2 we have attempted therefore to distinguish between the separate effects of these two influences, by comparing job satisfaction at successive interviews amongst people who stayed in the occupations they first entered on leaving school, with that of people who had subsequently moved into a different occupation.

Table 9.2 shows that the people who had remained in the same type of work throughout the five years tended to become much less sanguine about their employment as they grew older. Not surprisingly, people who changed their occupations were generally much less pleased with the jobs they had obtained on first leaving school, but during the next three years their job satisfaction tended to rise; thereafter, as they become more settled and changed their occupations less frequently, their job satisfaction also tended to decline. As a consequence, we find that at the end of the five years there was very little difference in the levels of job satisfaction of the two sets of people, although the West Indians who had changed occupations still remained slightly less satisfied than those who had stayed in the same type of work. Hence, it would appear that although the jobs that people entered when they first left school often proved to be unsuitable, many of the people who were unable initially to get into the occupations they had wanted (or who had made a bad choice) did eventually succeed in entering more satisfying employment. The high level of job mobility that occurred during the first three years after our informants left school was therefore clearly advantageous, to the extent that it gave people an opportunity to learn from their initial mistakes and to discover through experimentation the type of work for which they were best suited. Our informants were fortunate (as at that time job vacancies were fairly plentiful) in being able to change their jobs relatively easily.

Although many people succeeded in finding more congenial employment later-on, a considerable proportion remained less than fully satisfied with their jobs. As we have just shown, this was partly because people tended to become much more critical of their work as they grew older. Thus, while the inter-group variations in levels of job satisfaction are a useful measure of the relative success with which each group of leavers had got what it wanted at each interview stage, they are a very poor guide to how the nature of our informants' work and conditions of employment had actually changed over time. The only way by which we can determine if there had been a material change in our informants' employment is by

Table 9.1 Job satisfaction at each interview by sex, educational level and occupational group

Satisfaction with current job	1st interview			2nd interview			3rd interview			4th interview		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
<i>Sex: Males</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very satisfied	54	47	27	49	36	33	48	42	29	38	29	37
Fairly satisfied	37	39	44	44	54	51	46	45	68	53	56	55
Definitely not satisfied	9	14	29	7	9	15	6	13	3	8	15	8
<i>Base*</i>	117	110	34	120	118	41	115	110	39	120	99	38
<i>Females</i>												
Very satisfied	61	40	45	53	44	49	57	50	48	56	39	47
Fairly satisfied	36	48	34	40	43	33	38	43	41	39	50	47
Definitely not satisfied	3	12	21	7	12	19	5	7	11	5	11	5
<i>Base*</i>	93	83	39	96	88	44	93	86	46	81	74	40
<i>Educational level: Low</i>												
Very satisfied	54	36		51	42		51	47		55	38	
Fairly satisfied	38	48		41	44		42	40		40	45	
Definitely not satisfied	8	16		8	14		7	13		5	17	
<i>Base*</i>	74	61		75	66		72	68		65	53	
<i>Medium</i>												
Very satisfied	58	41		47	33		49	46		40	30	
Fairly satisfied	36	47		46	56		46	45		55	58	
Definitely not satisfied	6	12		7	11		5	9		5	12	
<i>Base*</i>	80	76		83	82		81	76		82	73	
<i>High</i>												
Very satisfied	61	57		57	47		56	42		41	34	
Fairly satisfied	34	32		38	47		38	50		46	55	
Definitely not satisfied	5	11		5	7		6	8		13	11	
<i>Base*</i>	56	56		58	58		55	52		54	47	
<i>Occupational group:</i>												
<i>Higher non-manual</i>												
Very satisfied	54	49		50	40		56	49		50	41	
Fairly satisfied	43	41		44	49		38	43		43	46	
Definitely not satisfied	3	10		6	11		6	8		6	13	
<i>Base*</i>	108	68		105	83		98	92		93	80	
<i>Skilled manual</i>												
Very satisfied	69	52		54	43		49	44		40	30	
Fairly satisfied	27	39		41	49		46	48		57	58	
Definitely not satisfied	4	8		6	7		4	8		3	13	
<i>Base*</i>	70	84		69	83		67	77		60	71	
<i>Lower manual/non-manual</i>												
Very satisfied	44	19		48	32		46	37		42	18	
Fairly satisfied	31	54		40	50		46	37		46	64	
Definitely not satisfied	25	27		12	18		7	26		12	18	
<i>Base*</i>	32	41		42	40		43	27		48	22	

* All leavers at 4th interview who were in employment at each interview stage.

Table 9.2 Job satisfaction at each interview by whether stayed in the same occupation

	Remained in same occupation*						Changed occupation*					
	Whites			Early Migrants			Whites			Early Migrants		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>1st interview</i>												
Very satisfied	70			62			43			32		
Fairly satisfied	30			33			43			49		
Dissatisfied	—			5			14			19		
<i>2nd interview</i>												
Very satisfied	54			44			49			36		
Fairly satisfied	43			50			41			50		
Dissatisfied	4			5			10			23		
<i>3rd interview</i>												
Very satisfied	52			50			51			41		
Fairly satisfied	43			42			42			47		
Dissatisfied	5			8			7			12		
<i>4th interview</i>												
Very satisfied	45			37			46			31		
Fairly satisfied	49			54			45			53		
Dissatisfied	6			9			8			16		
<i>Bases†</i>												
1st interview	107			75			102			117		
2nd interview	108			80			107			125		
3rd interview	105			77			102			117		
4th interview	99			68			99			99		

* Based on a comparison of first and last occupations only. Thus, anyone who changed occupations at some stage but subsequently returned to the occupation in which he/she had started out is treated as having 'remained in same occupation'. For anyone who had yet to obtain work by the first interview, the occupation of the second interview has been treated as the first employment.

† All persons in the fourth interview sample who were in employment at each interview stage.

comparing their job descriptions when they left school, with what they said about their work later-on. Although, here again we have to be aware of the possibility that our informants' descriptions of their jobs may have been affected by their becoming more discerning as they grew older.

Job assessments

As it would have been most time-consuming, and somewhat tedious for our informants, to collect very detailed accounts of their work and conditions of employment at every visit, we chose to confine such questions to the first and the third interviews. The third interview was chosen, rather than the last, because at the time we were uncertain if it would be possible to carry out a fourth interview. In the event it transpired that it was about the time of the third interview that the high levels of job mobility came to an end and people began to be more settled in their work. It proved therefore to be a very appropriate moment to ask our informants to describe their jobs in detail, once again, to see what changes had taken place since they first started employment. As at the first interview, the information was collected through a self-completion questionnaire (see Appendix IV, Interview 3 Self-completion Questionnaire No. 1). The range of topics covered on the two occasions was different, however. Certain matters which we felt would have been barely relevant to young people who had only just started work (such as their promotion prospects) were not dealt with at the first interview. Instead, we asked several questions about how our informants got on with their supervisors, and whether people felt that they were given sufficient guidance and

help with their work - the answers to which were subsequently combined to produce an overall measure of our informants' satisfaction with treatment by supervisors' (see Volume 1, Chapter 9). At the third interview, as people were by this time well accustomed to the disciplines and usages of the workplace, we confined ourselves to asking if people felt that their supervisors generally treated them 'fairly'.

Table 9.3 shows what our informants thought of the aspects of their employment which they generally regarded as being the most important (see Chapter 8). When our informants first left school the less qualified Early Migrants had tended to have a much lower opinion of most aspects of their work, than did Whites of the same level of education, whereas, except for their treatment by supervisors and their job security, the better qualified Early Migrants' views about their work and conditions of employment were similar to those of their White counterparts. Since then, many of the less qualified Early Migrants had succeeded in moving from lower grade occupations into higher non-manual jobs (see Chapter 3), and in consequence their opinion of the training they were receiving and their pride in their jobs was now very similar to those of the Whites. But despite this improvement in the situation of the less qualified none of the West Indians liked their work as much as did the Whites, and West Indians were also generally less content with their pay, job security and promotion prospects.

The table also shows that although the job changes that the Early Migrants had made over the intervening three years were generally equally beneficial to men and women, this was not so amongst the Later Migrants. When they first left school, the Later Migrants of both sexes were particularly prone to regard their work as uninteresting and requiring little training (see Volume 1, Chapter 9). Over the subsequent three years no less than a quarter of the women moved up from lower grade occupations into higher non-manual work, whereas the proportion of Later Migrant men in lower grade jobs had remained identical to before (see Table 3.1). This difference in the fortunes of the two sexes is reflected in their job assessments at the third interview. Apart from feeling that they were somewhat underpaid, in all other respects the Later Migrant women's views about their jobs were similar to, or more favourable than, those of the Early Migrants, whereas the Later Migrant men, although they professed to like the general nature of their work no less than other men, they were much less proud of their jobs; they also tended to have a lower opinion of their job security, training and promotion prospects.

The job descriptions of the people in the three occupational groups also show a number of minor changes. When they first started work, the white skilled manual workers' assessments of the quality of their training tended to be higher, they took more pride in their jobs and found their work more interesting, than did Whites in higher non-manual employment. The latter, on the other hand, were more satisfied with their pay, job security and

Table 9.3 Leavers' assessments of their jobs at the third interview by sex, educational level and occupational group

Leaver's assessment of:	Sex						Educational level					
	Males			Females			Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Compatibility of fellow workers</i>												
High	45	44	52	43	44	45	49	43	45	44	36	46
Medium	39	41	33	43	42	35	37	37	43	43	44	46
Low	16	15	15	15	14	20	14	20	13	14	21	8
<i>Fairness of supervisors*</i>												
High	65	63	61	79	74	76	73	63	66	70	79	72
Medium	25	30	33	15	21	24	18	31	24	25	16	20
Low	10	7	6	6	5	—	9	6	10	5	5	8
<i>Liking for type of work</i>												
High	63	56	61	75	68	71	73	65	67	61	64	59
Medium	29	36	33	21	26	28	22	24	24	35	31	36
Low	8	8	6	4	6	2	5	11	8	5	5	5
<i>Pride in work</i>												
High	59	60	48	61	61	57	56	62	64	60	60	59
Medium	28	26	37	30	34	35	33	26	27	33	26	30
Low	13	14	15	10	6	8	11	12	10	8	14	12
<i>Quality of training</i>												
High	52	56	42	53	57	67	50	58	53	56	55	56
Medium	32	27	51	36	26	22	32	22	35	29	36	30
Low	16	16	7	11	16	12	18	20	12	14	10	15
<i>Security of employment</i>												
High	59	57	39	80	55	55	60	49	67	54	84	69
Medium	29	23	35	14	22	26	22	18	28	29	14	16
Low	12	20	26	6	23	20	18	32	5	17	2	15
<i>Current pay</i>												
High	59	49	44	69	54	43	66	52	58	47	68	57
Medium	27	35	24	18	27	31	16	35	30	34	23	23
Low	14	16	33	13	19	26	17	14	12	19	10	20
<i>Promotion prospects</i>												
High	62	52	42	51	46	56	46	41	62	51	66	59
Medium	23	26	44	24	28	22	33	28	17	22	19	31
Low	15	22	13	24	25	22	22	31	20	26	15	10
<i>Provision for employees' welfare</i>												
High	56	46	35	61	54	51	51	45	60	58	67	43
Medium	34	35	44	26	28	35	29	38	33	26	28	32
Low	10	19	21	13	18	14	20	17	7	16	5	25
<i>Base (leavers at the 3rd interview who were currently in employment)</i>	133	124	46	115	107	51	92	81	94	89	62	61

* See commentary on page 59.

NB For the full wording of the questions on each topic see Chapter 8, Table 8.1 and the Leaver's Self-Completion Schedule, Appendix IV.

Occupational group					
Higher non-manual		Skilled manual		Lower man/non-manual	
Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
%	%	%	%	%	%
40	42	50	45	44	48
44	41	38	44	38	36
6	17	12	10	18	16
76	76	67	59	71	64
16	19	22	35	27	26
9	5	12	6	2	10
75	69	72	62	51	36
20	26	26	35	34	39
5	4	3	4	15	26
66	64	67	66	38	29
28	33	24	24	36	29
6	3	9	9	25	42
56	60	64	66	27	19
38	31	22	23	42	23
5	9	14	10	31	58
84	62	53	52	60	45
10	19	35	26	31	23
7	18	13	22	9	32
66	60	53	45	74	39
21	21	31	42	16	39
13	19	17	13	9	23
57	54	60	48	51	36
24	25	23	29	24	29
18	20	17	23	25	36
59	54	53	42	64	52
29	28	33	40	29	24
12	18	13	18	7	24
115	114	79	86	55	31

with the way they were treated by supervisors. Three years later the situation was broadly the same, except that now people's pride in their jobs and their liking for their work was very similar in both occupational groups.

The main change in the outlooks of Whites in the lower manual/non-manual group was that, unlike before, most of them were now very content with their pay, although, as one might expect, they still tended to be less proud of their jobs and they did not like their work as much as other people.

The West Indians' job assessments displayed the same occupational differences as those of the Whites, except that (as at the first interview) West Indians in low grade occupations were much more critical of their work than were the Whites who had similar jobs. The West Indians in all three occupational groups were also a lot less optimistic about their promotion prospects and (as we also found earlier, at the first interview) they felt that their jobs were less secure and less well paid, compared with Whites who were in similar occupations.

Whether jobs fulfilled people's expectations

Our informants' job assessments show that, despite the improvement in the situation of the less qualified Early Migrants, the West Indians' jobs three years after they had left school still left much to be desired. However, we have also found that as they became older our informants modified the criteria by which they judged their employment. In order, therefore, to determine whether there had been any real change in the *general suitability* of our informants' jobs, over the intervening three years, we have to assess their employment at each interview stage in terms of the factors which our informants considered to be important to them *at that time*. Thus, following the same procedure as used in the first part of the report (see Volume I, Appendix III), in the following three tables we have measured the extent to which our informants' jobs at the first and third interviews satisfied each person's three main requirements. Tables 9.4 and 9.5 compare the overall situation of the matched pairs at the two interviews; Table 9.6 shows by how much the jobs of each sub-group had improved, since they first began work.

Table 9.4 demonstrates that (according to our informants' own job assessments) the Early Migrants' employment at the third interview still tended to be somewhat less adequate than that of their matched Whites: in 50% of cases where there was a difference, in 29% it was the White's job that was the more satisfactory. But the divergence in the situations of the two groups was less than at the first interview. Table 9.5, which records the changes that had occurred over the three years, shows that when we compare the fortunes of each matched pair, we find that it was the West Indians who had made the most advance. Although in 29% of the matched pairs the White had fared better than his/her West Indian partner, this was substantially exceeded by the 39% of cases where the West Indian had been the more successful.

Table 9.4 If jobs of matched pairs at the third interview had the three features thought to be most important

	Matched Whites			Totals
	Entirely or largely achieved	Partly achieved	Entirely or largely unachieved	
Entirely or largely achieved	37% 76	17% 34	2% 5	115
Partly achieved	25% 52	12% 24	2% 5	81
Entirely or largely unachieved	3% 7	1% 2	—	9
Totals	135	60	10	Base* (= 100%) 205

* Paired leavers who were both in employment at the third interview.

Table 9.5 Changes between the first and third interviews in the extent to which the jobs of the matched pairs had the three features they thought to be most important

Jobs at 3rd interview assessed as:	Matched Whites					Totals
	Much better	Slightly better	The same	Slightly worse	Much worse	
Early Migrants	1% 1	1% 1	7% 12	2% 3	—	17
	1% 2	8% 14	13% 22	6% 10	—	48
	1% 2	10% 18	21% 37	9% 15	1% 1	73
	1% 1	4% 7	10% 17	4% 7	—	32
	1% 1	—	1% 1	—	—	2
Totals	7	40	89	35	1	Base* (= 100%) 172

NB (i) In the above table 'much better' represents a move (of two graduations) from 'largely or entirely unachieved' at the first interview to 'completely or largely achieved' at the third interview; whereas 'much worse' is in the opposite direction. 'Slightly better/worse' represents a move up or down of one graduation only; for example, from 'partly achieved' at the first interview to 'completely or largely achieved'/'entirely or largely unachieved' at the third interview. See Tables 9.3 and 9.4 in Volume 1.

(ii) The job features which were most important to each person were not necessarily the same on the two occasions, as the relative importance of some aspects of employment tended to change over time (see Chapter 8).

* Paired leavers who were both in employment at the third interview.

Table 9.7 measures the actual extent to which the job suitability of each sex and educational stratum had improved. This confirms that although, on balance, the overall situation of all the sub-groups, both White and West Indian, was better than when they first began work, it was the less qualified Early Migrants who had made the most progress.

Table 9.6 Changes between the first and third interviews in the extent to which jobs had the three features thought to be most important by sex and educational level

Jobs at third interview assessed as:	Sex				Educational level					
	Males		Females		Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
Much better	% 5	% 11	% 3	% 7	% 6	% 10	% 4	% 13	% 2	% 4
Slightly better	25	26	23	34	25	39	23	24	25	26
The same	50	42	53	42	41	33	59	40	55	53
Slightly worse	20	19	21	18	28	16	14	23	17	16
Much worse	1	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	2
Net improvement*	+9	+16	+5	+23	+3	+31	+13	+14	+8	+12
Base†	123	108	111	89	88	61	86	79	60	57

* The proportion whose jobs were adjudged to be much or slightly better, less those where they were much or slightly worse.

† All leavers at the third interview who were in employment on both occasions.

NB See also notes to Table 9.5.

Table 9.7 Leaver's perception of relative status of final job by sex, educational level and occupational group

Position in which placed own job relative to other occupations*	Sex						Educational level					
	Males			Females			Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Above 2	16	14	21	20	26	20	15	12	15	20	25	28
2 to 3.5	24	22	30	40	21	37	32	15	31	25	32	26
4 to 5.5	23	23	16	23	18	15	23	21	24	25	21	14
6 to 7.5	21	22	16	10	17	9	18	25	19	13	10	21
8 or below	16	18	16	7	19	20	13	27	12	16	12	11
Group average	4.8	5.0	4.1	3.7	4.4	4.2	4.5	5.7	4.5	4.2	3.8	4.0
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	125		43	99		47	81		85		58	
	Occupational group											
	Higher non-manual		Skilled manual		Lower manual/non-manual							
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants						
	%	%	%	%	%	%						
Above 2	20	31	21	15	8	2						
2 to 3.5	37	27	26	23	26	8						
4 to 5.5	26	16	26	28	13	18						
6 to 7.5	11	18	18	18	25	22						
8 or below	6	8	10	16	28	50						
Group average	3.7	3.7	4.4	4.7	5.8	7.3						
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	106	101	62	82	55	40						

* On scale illustrated in Figure 9.1.

Job status

The shortcomings in the jobs of the West Indians, as measured by their own job assessments, reinforce our earlier finding that although (according to their occupational classification) the jobs of the Whites and the West Indians might appear to be similar, in practice the West Indians' occupations tended to be of a lower standard. We also found earlier, however, that despite the differences in their Heg Scale ratings, when they were assessed on the Hope-Goldthorpe Scale the jobs of the Early Migrants and their matched Whites were shown to have a very similar 'social standing' (see Chapter 3). In order to check on this rather surprising finding, at the final interview we tried to ascertain what our informants themselves thought about the status of their occupations. In view of the West Indians' greater preference for skilled manual work and nursing, we thought it would be interesting to try, at the same time, to see if the Whites and West Indians had different views about the relative status of some occupations.

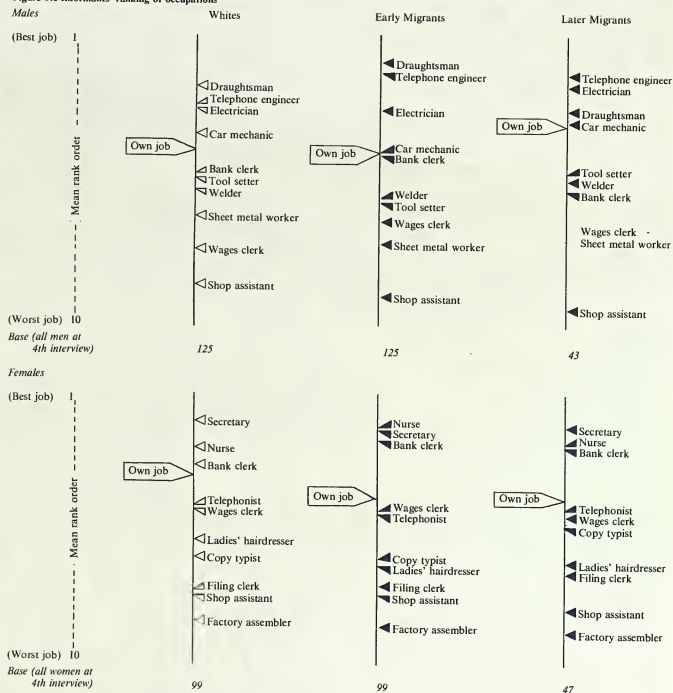
To make the task as meaningful as possible to our informants, we confined ourselves to ten occupations in which they were commonly employed. As men and

women tended to be in different types of work, we had to produce a separate list for each sex, the only occupations which were common to both being Bank Clerk, Wages Clerk and Shop Assistant (see Figure 9.1).

Each informant was asked to rank the ten occupations in order of merit, and then to show where he/she would place his/her own occupation, relative to the other occupations in the list. (For full details of how this was done see Appendix IV, 4th Interview Schedule, Questions 75-76.) Figure 9.1 illustrates how the West Indians' overall view of the status of the various occupations compared with that of the Whites, and the mean position which each group of informants gave to their own occupations.

It is immediately apparent from Figure 9.1 that the West Indians' views about the statuses of the various occupations were generally very similar to those of the Whites. It shows that all the men were in agreement that their four top jobs were Draughtsman, Telephone Engineer, Electrician and Car Mechanic, followed by Bank Clerk, Tool Setter and Welder. The jobs of which

Figure 9.1 Informants' ranking of occupations



the men had the lowest opinion being Sheet Metal Worker, Wages Clerk and Shop Assistant. Although there were minor variations in the placing of some occupations, it is only amongst the Later Migrants that one can discern any evidence to suggest that West Indians had a higher opinion of manual work, than did Whites – to the extent that the Later Migrants tended to place 'office jobs' like Draughtsman and Bank Clerk, in a lower position, relative to skilled manual occupations.

The views of the women were even more alike. Amongst all three groups of women, the most prestigious occupations were Secretary, Nurse and Bank Clerk; these were followed by Telephonist and Wages Clerk; then Copy Typist and Ladies' Hairdresser; and finally, Filing Clerk, Shop Assistant and Factory Assembler.

The average position which each group of informants gave to their own jobs shows that with the exception of the Later Migrant men, the West Indians tended to rate their occupations slightly lower than did Whites, whereas the Later Migrant men put their occupations slightly higher. As the occupational distributions and the academic level of the jobs of the two groups of West Indian men were very similar at the fourth interview (see Tables 3.2 and 3.6), the divergence in their views about the status of their jobs suggests, once again, that the Later Migrant men may have tended to evaluate some occupations differently, from the Early Migrants and the Whites.

Table 9.7 shows in detail how each sub-group rated their jobs. Even when people were in ostensibly similar occupations, there was much diversity of opinion about

the relative prestige of their jobs. Nevertheless, the group averages (at the foot of the table) display a fairly consistent pattern. The most highly regarded jobs tended to be in the higher non-manual group. The next in order of esteem were the skilled manual. In both instances, the views of the Whites and the West Indians were fairly similar. As we would expect, people tended to have a poor opinion of lower manual/non-manual work. Moreover, in these lower grade occupations, the West Indians held their jobs in much lower esteem, than did Whites in similar employment. This is consistent with their job evaluations, which showed that a large proportion of the West Indians in this category of employment regarded their work as being very unskilled, insecure and ill-paid.

The middle panel of the table also shows that although the better qualified Whites allocated a slightly higher status to their jobs than did their less qualified peers, the connection between educational attainment and people's perceptions of the status of their work was much more marked amongst the West Indians.

Thus, to sum up, it would appear that although the West Indians often had a poor opinion of some aspects of their jobs – particularly their conditions of employment – this did not mean that they necessarily regarded their occupations as being socially inferior. In practice, providing their jobs were in the higher non-manual or skilled manual categories, the Whites and West Indians

regarded their employment as being of very similar status. Generally speaking, therefore, our informants' views about their jobs tend to confirm our earlier findings that although (according to the Heg Scale) the West Indians' jobs were of a lower standard, in that they tended to require lower qualifications for entry, their 'social standing' (as assessed on the Hope-Goldthorpe Scale) was fully equivalent to that of the Whites (see Chapter 3 and Volume 1, Chapter 8).

Summary

As they grew older and more concerned with matters such as their job security and promotion prospects, both the Whites and the West Indians became much more critical of their employment. Their job assessments showed, nonetheless, that there was an improvement in the general suitability of the West Indians' jobs in later years, particularly amongst the less qualified Early Migrants. But although their situation was generally better than when they first left school, the West Indians still did not like their work quite as much as did Whites, and they also continued to feel that their pay, job security and promotion prospects were not as good as Whites in similar occupations felt theirs to be. However, although the West Indians tended to be less satisfied than Whites who had similar kinds of jobs, this did not affect their view of the *social status* of their employment. Providing their work was higher non-manual or skilled manual, the Whites and West Indians had very similar opinions about the social standing of their respective occupations.

10 Relations with fellow workers and trade unions

When people were asked about the things that were most important to them in their jobs, one of the issues about which the women in particular displayed the most concern was that their fellow workers should be friendly (see Table 8.1). Although their job assessments do not suggest that West Indians experienced particular difficulty in their personal relationships at work, the importance of this topic makes it worthwhile to look more closely to see whether there was any evidence of ethnic conflict in the workplace. In view of the problems that West Indians had experienced as a consequence of the discriminatory behaviour of employers, it would be surprising if there was not also some social tension between the West Indians and their white fellow workers.

Compatibility with fellow workers

Every time we visited the leavers, during the first three years, we enquired about how they were getting on with their fellow employees*. Although we deliberately varied the wording of the question at each visit, the pattern of their answers was the same on all three occasions. For this reason, and also because many people had several job changes during the period, we have chosen to combine each person's answers, at the three interviews, in order to obtain an overall measure of our informants' experiences over the three years (see Table 10.1). (For details of the wording of the questions used at each interview and how the answers were combined, see Appendix IV.)

The table shows that although the West Indian men's answers suggest that they succeeded in mixing in with their fellow workers just as well as did the Whites, the West Indian women, both the Early and the Later Migrants seemed to have found their colleagues less easy

to get on with. It also appears that the West Indians' problems were greater the less educated they were.

At the second interview, in addition to asking the usual question about how they were getting on with people at work, we also collected a detailed account of the age, sex and ethnic background of all the people with whom our informants had frequent contact at their place of employment. We then asked the West Indians directly, if they preferred to work with West Indians only, a mixture of people including West Indians, or with white people only; and what the reasons for their preferences were.

The questions about the age and sex of their colleagues proved to be of little interest, but there was some evidence that the ethnic composition of the workforce did have some affect on social relationships in the workplace.

Table 10.2 examines the ethnic origins of the people with whom our informants were working. It shows that the workforce in which West Indians were employed were invariably much more ethnically heterogeneous than those in which the Whites had found employment. The difference was especially pronounced amongst people who were in low grade occupations. As many as 69% of the West Indian leavers in the lower manual/non-manual group had at least one other West Indian in their workforce, and 38% also had Asians working with them, whereas 70% of the white leavers worked in the company of Whites only. As one would expect, in skilled manual occupations Whites often worked with West Indians and

* At the fourth interview we did not ask a question in this form; instead we asked our informants bluntly about how much discrimination they had experienced at work, and from whom (see Chapter 11.)

Table 10.1 Compatibility with fellow-workers over the first three years by sex and educational level

Leaver rated his/her compatibility with fellow-workers generally as:	Sex						Educational level					
	Males			Females			Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
High	52	50	53	60	45	41	56	47	56	44	57	54
Medium	47	50	45	39	54	59	43	52	44	56	42	46
Low	1	—	2	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	2	—
Base (all leavers at 3rd interview)	144			53	129		58	104		102	67	

NB See Appendix III for the method by which answers at the three interviews were combined.

Table 10.2 Ethnic composition of work-group at second interview by sex, educational level and occupational group

Fellow-workers* consisted of:	Sex						Educational level					
	Males			Females			Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Whites only	61	44	26	73	32	29	72	36	66	39	59	42
Whites and Asians	13	9	4	12	14	15	10	10	13	9	15	17
Whites and West Indians	10	18	34	6	28	24	6	28	8	23	12	16
Whites, West Indians and Asians	12	22	30	6	23	27	6	20	10	25	11	21
	23	41	68	12	53	51	13	48	18	51	23	38
West Indians only	1	1	2	—	2	—	1	—	—	3	—	1
West Indians and Asians	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Insufficient information	3	5	2	4	2	5	4	6	3	1	3	3
Base (all leavers in employment at second interview)†	162	152	53	142	124	59	110	94	120	111	74	71
Fellow-workers* consisted of:	Occupational group											
	Higher non-manual		Skilled manual		Lower man/non-manual							
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Whites only	70	42	57	44	70	21	70	42	57	44	70	21
Whites and Asians	14	15	11	8	10	8	14	15	11	8	10	8
Whites and West Indians	5	23	16	19	6	29	5	23	16	19	6	29
Whites, West Indians and Asians	7	17	14	22	6	38	7	17	14	22	6	38
	13	41	30	43	12	69	13	41	30	43	12	69
West Indians only	1	1	—	2	—	2	1	1	—	2	—	2
West Indians and Asians	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Insufficient information	2	2	2	5	8	2	2	2	2	5	8	2
Base (all leavers in employment at second interview)†	152	120	89	108	63	48	152	120	89	108	63	48

* Fellow-employees whom the informant encountered most days (usually on at least four days per week) in the course of his or her work. No one was working in the company of Asians only.

† Excluding a few people who said they mostly worked by themselves or that they did not work regularly with a particular person or persons.

Asians; although even here, it was still the West Indians who were most likely to be found in an ethnically mixed group. This difference in the composition of the work group occurred amongst both sexes and in all three educational strata, in varying degrees depending upon their occupational distributions.

One of the reasons that West Indians were often to be found working together, of course, is that they tended to be especially attracted to certain occupations, such as mechanical engineering and nursing. It is very doubtful, however, if this is a sufficient explanation as, although it was true that such occupations were more popular amongst West Indians, in practice there were still only a small proportion who were nurses and car mechanics. Moreover, there are two other factors which would almost certainly have contributed to the differences in workforce composition: namely, that some employers

were more willing to accept West Indians (and Asians), and also, that when West Indians drew upon the assistance of their relatives to help them get a job (as they often did) this inevitably directed them to places where other West Indians were already employed.

Table 10.3 illustrates the effect that these differences in the ethnic composition of their workforce had upon the ease with which people were able to get on with their colleagues. The top section of the table suggests that the Early Migrants tended to be slightly less at ease when there were no other West Indians at their workplace, and when there were Asians present. The number of Whites in ethnically mixed workforces was insufficient to enable us to examine their responses in the same detail, but the bottom section of the table implies that the Whites generally got on just as well in an ethnically mixed group as when the workforce was exclusively white.

Table 10.3 Relationship between ethnic composition of work group and compatibility with fellow-workers

Ease with which informant said he/she 'got on' with fellow-workers	Early Migrants whose fellow workers were:				Matched Whites whose fellow workers were:	
	All Whites	Whites and West Indians	Whites and Asians	Whites, Asians and West Indians	All Whites	Of mixed ethnicity
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Always very easy	60	70	58	58	66	63
Fairly easy	37	24	35	39	32	35
Rather difficult	—	6	3	3	1	2
Other answer	3	—	3	—	0	—
Base*	107	63	31	62	202	92

* All persons in employment at the second interview for whom the constitution of the work force was known.

We need to take care, however, about the way in which we interpret these findings. They do *not* mean necessarily that West Indians were more sensitive to ethnic differences. When Whites were in an ethnically mixed workforce it was very seldom indeed that they found themselves in the minority, whereas this was very commonly the case with the West Indians. Quite a large proportion of the West Indians, in fact, had no other West Indians working with them, whereas virtually none of the Whites were alone in the company of West Indians and Asians (see Table 10.2). In these circumstances, the ethnic composition of the workforce was quite obviously a matter of much greater import to West Indians. This is further illustrated by the West Indians' answers when we asked them about the types of people they preferred working with* (see Table 10.4). Most of them said they definitely preferred to be in a group which consisted of both Whites and West Indians.

Only a negligible proportion favoured the company of Whites only, or a group consisting entirely of West Indians. This strong preference for working in a mixed group occurred regardless of who carried out the interviews. The only effect that the interviewer's ethnicity had upon the answers was that there was a very slight tendency for informants to express a greater preference for working in the exclusive company of persons of the interviewer's ethnicity. Thus when interviewed by a fellow West Indian, 4% of Early Migrants said they favoured being with West Indians only, compared to 2% who said they preferred the company of Whites only, whereas when the interviewer was white, the situation was reversed, with 6% saying they would rather work with Whites only, and only 1% declaring a preference for West Indians only; similarly for the Later Migrants.

It was also found that educational differences had no effect whatever on attitudes.

When we asked our informants to give their reasons for their preferences some found it difficult to explain. Many, however, did give very full and reasoned answers to which the crude summary in Table 10.4 hardly does justice. As the table shows, a large proportion favoured a mixed group because they felt that it was more interesting and natural, and helped West Indians and Whites to get on with each other better. Others attempted to answer the

question more specifically, in terms of why they personally liked having Whites, or some other West Indians, in the workgroup. These latter explanations – which were admirably frank – show that while a substantial proportion of people clearly felt a need for the companionship and moral support of other West Indians at work, there were others (particularly amongst the women) who were dubious about having West Indians as colleagues, unless there were some Whites present.

The most important point to emerge from these answers, however, is that most West Indians preferred to work in a mixed group that contained both Whites and some other West Indians.

Thus, whilst some of the factors which contributed to the concentration of West Indians in particular places of employment may have been disadvantageous to West Indians in other respects, the effect on the ethnic composition of the workforce was by no means unwelcome, in that it ensured that a large proportion of our West Indian informants had at least one other West Indian working with them.

Subsequently, when the West Indians changed their jobs, an increasing proportion found new employment through the aid of their friends and relatives (see Table 6.1). This inevitably tended to direct them increasingly toward places which already had other West Indians in their employment. Consequently, at the final interview, when we checked to see if there had been any change in the situation, it was found that the proportions whose workgroups included other West Indians had risen quite considerably during the intervening three years (see Table 10.5). Insofar as this seemingly inevitable trend appeared to be producing the kind of work situation which most West Indians appeared to prefer there is no reason for being disturbed by it, providing, that is, that it does not eventually lead to the creation of all-West Indian work groups.

* The Whites were not asked this question as most of them had no experience of working in an ethnically mixed group. Similarly, as all the West Indians were accustomed to being with Whites, but only a minority were used to having Asians in the workforce, it was not practicable to ask the West Indians how they felt about working with Asians.

Table 10.4 Ethnic composition of work-group preferred by West Indians by sex

	Males		Females	
	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%
<i>If had the choice would prefer to work with:</i>				
A mixture of people including both Whites and West Indians	79	75	82	92
Whites only	2	4	7	5
West Indians only	3	8	1	2
Don't mind which/don't know	16	13	10	2
Reasons for preference				
<i>Liked to have some Whites in work group because:</i>				
Got on better with Whites	1	2	5	3
If West Indians only in group they tend to quarrel/not take work seriously	9	8	13	19
Other reasons	3	2	3	2
<i>Liked to have some West Indians in work group because:</i>				
Got on better with West Indians/liked to have the support of other West Indians in case of difficulty or disagreement with Whites	11	19	10	15
Felt embarrassed if alone with Whites	5	8	7	8
Other reasons	1	—	1	—
<i>Preferred a mixed work group because:</i>				
Helps people to get to know and understand each other better/make friends in other ethnic groups	16	15	22	22
Gives more interest/variety	19	21	25	24
It's the normal thing/what one expects and is used to	5	4	6	12
Gets on well with people of all types	10	9	10	5
Other reasons	8	2	9	7
No particular reason for preference	7	9	8	7
Did not mind who they worked with/didn't know	16	13	10	2
<i>Base (all West Indians in employment at 2nd interview)</i>	<i>155</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>126</i>	<i>60</i>

Table 10.5 Changes in the ethnic composition of the work group between the second and fourth interviews by sex, educational level and occupational group (West Indians only)

Proportions whose work group included other West Indians	Sex				Educational level			Occupational group		
	Males		Females		Low	Medium	High	Higher non-manual	Skilled manual	Lower manual/non-man
	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Later Migrants				Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants
At 2nd interview (1 year 9 months after leaving school)	42%	67%	54%	47%	52%	54%	44%	40%	43%	72%
At 4th interview (5 years after leaving school)	67%	84%	66%	71%	73%	67%	60%	59%	69%	86%
<i>Bases† (at 2nd interview)</i>	<i>118</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>82</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>(at 4th interview)</i>	<i>98</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>73</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>22</i>

* See notes to Table 10.2.

† All persons at the fourth interview who were in employment at the second and fourth interviews.

Attendance at sports and social clubs

In a further endeavour to ascertain how well our West Indian informants mixed in with other people at their places of employment, at the second interview both the Whites and the West Indians were asked whether they ever socialised with their fellow employees out of working hours and if they attended sports and social clubs at their places of employment.

There was no difference, either between the ethnic groups nor between sexes, in their propensity to form friendships at work and to go out together in the evenings and weekends. Approximately two out of five did this at least occasionally. There was, however, a notable divergence in the extent to which the West Indians and the Whites made use of sports and social clubs at their workplaces (see Table 10.6).

When they had such facilities available for their use, the Whites went to clubs at their places of work with about the same frequency as they attended clubs elsewhere. The West Indians, however, appeared to prefer going to clubs away from their places of employment.

Trade unions

At the third interview, we asked a variety of questions about our informants' involvement in and attitudes toward trade unions (see Appendix IV, Third Interview Questionnaire, Qns. 55-61). As they were still relatively young very few were found to take an active part in union affairs. Moreover, as Table 10.7 shows, very often there were no unions at the places where our informants were employed, or at least none which they were eligible to join. Even when people were eligible for membership of a union, however, they often failed to take advantage of the opportunity (see bottom line of Table 10.7). Union membership was especially low amongst women; the table shows that this was partly because they were less likely to have a union at the places where they were employed, but also because women appeared to be less keen about joining unions. This general tendency for women to be less keen to join trade unions was particularly pronounced amongst the West Indians, as is

Table 10.6 Attendance at social/sports clubs attached to place of work, compared with elsewhere

	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
(a) Proportion with a social/sports club at their place of work	35%	42%	39%
(b) Proportion with a club at work who attended at least monthly	27%	16%	14%
(c) Proportion who attended other social/sports clubs elsewhere	28%	40%	39%
<i>Bases</i>			
(a) Persons in employment at 2nd interview	306	281	115
(b) Persons with a club at work	107	116	43
(c) All leavers at 2nd interview	322	322	125

illustrated again by the behaviour of the Early Migrants in the higher non-manual group, most of whom were women. The bottom panel of the table shows that only 41% of the (mainly female) West Indians in this group who were eligible to join a union had actually done so, compared to 60% of the Whites. Whereas, amongst skilled manual workers (who were nearly all men) the proportions who had joined a union, when they had the opportunity, was the same in both ethnic groups (64%).

The only situation where the West Indians were *more* likely to join a union, than were Whites, was when they were in lower manual/non-manual occupations. The sample of West Indians in these low grade jobs is very small (31). Nonetheless, it is probably more than coincidental that these people were also especially critical of their pay and conditions of employment, whereas the Whites in this kind of work were much more contented with their jobs and generally considered themselves to be very well paid. However, whilst the exceptionally poor conditions of employment of the West Indians in these low grade occupations could well account for their greater interest in joining trade unions, it remains puzzling why the West Indians generally did not display more interest in joining unions, in view of their widespread discontent with their pay, job security and promotion prospects (see Table 9.3). Table 10.8 which shows how satisfied people were with their unions and

what the West Indians thought of the unions' endeavours to ensure that West Indians were treated fairly, may provide part of the answer.

Table 10.8 shows that neither the Whites nor the West Indians were very impressed by the performance of their unions: only about two out of five were fully satisfied. Very few indeed of the union members said they were 'definitely dissatisfied' but as people who felt this way would probably tend to abandon their membership, this is to be expected. The main point of interest in this table is that as many as a third of the West Indians who had actually joined and remained as members of their unions, still felt that their unions did not do enough to ensure that their West Indian members were treated fairly.

Summary

It was found that the West Indian women (unlike the men) sometimes had greater difficulty getting on with their companions at work, than did the Whites. This appeared to be because they tended to be slightly less at ease when there were no other West Indians at their workplace.

However, whilst most West Indians liked to have the companionship of other West Indians at work, only a negligible number said they would prefer to be in a group consisting only of West Indians. They were generally happiest when working in the company of a mixture of people, consisting of both Whites and West Indians.

As a consequence of the West Indians' preference for certain types of occupation, their tendency to get many of their jobs through friends and relatives, and the operation of selective recruiting practices, a large proportion of the West Indians had in fact obtained work in places where other West Indians were already employed. Furthermore, as time progressed, an increasing number of people were introduced to new jobs through their friends and relatives, with the result that the proportion of West Indians finding their way into places where they were in the company of other West Indians steadily rose. It would appear, therefore, that eventually the great majority of

Table 10.7 Trade union membership by sex and occupational group

	Sex				Occupational group					
	Males		Females		Higher non-manual		Skilled manual		Lower man/non-manual	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
<i>Was a member of a trade union</i>	42	35	26	24	29	22	38	35	42	42
<i>Was eligible for membership of union at work but had not joined</i>	21	23	19	26	19	32	21	20	22	10
<i>Was ineligible to join the union(s) represented at place of work</i>	2	2	8	5	9	5	1	1	—	3
<i>Said there were no unions at place of work (or was uncertain)</i>	36	40	46	45	43	41	40	44	36	45
<i>Proportion who knew they were eligible for membership of a union who had joined</i>	66%	61%	58%	47%	60%	41%	64%	64%	66%	81%
<i>Bases (all in employment at 3rd interview)</i>	132	124	114	106	114	113	77	86	55	31

Table 10.3 Members' satisfaction with their unions in general and in relation to the unions' efforts to ensure West Indians received fair treatment

What members thought of their unions generally	Whites	Early Migrants		
	%	%	If thought unions did enough to ensure West Indians were treated fairly	
Very satisfied	36	41	{ Yes 38	60
Fairly satisfied	56	46	{ No 3	
		54	{ Yes 22	35
Dissatisfied	6	8	{ No 32	
No answer/unclear	2	5		
Base (Union members at 3rd interview)	55	37		

the West Indians would probably end up in the type of work group which they seemed generally to prefer.

Most Whites, on the other hand, worked only in the company of Whites. Even when they did have West Indians and Asians in their work groups, the Whites were almost invariably in the majority. In practice, therefore, it was found that the Whites generally got on just as well in an ethnically mixed workgroup, as when their colleagues were all White.

Although most West Indians mixed in with their fellow employees reasonably well and formed friendships at work just as readily as did Whites, the West Indians tended to be less keen, than were their White colleagues, about attending social and sports clubs at their places of employment. The West Indians preferred instead to go to clubs elsewhere. The West Indian women also tended to be less interested in joining trade unions. This could be partly because West Indians often felt that their unions did not do enough to protect the interests of their West Indian members.

11 Discrimination

In the first volume of the report we showed how West Indians were handicapped by discriminatory recruiting practices when they first left school (see Volume 1, Chapter 12). Their problems were especially acute if they were recent immigrants and had strong accents. When they had lived in Britain for all or most of their lives and were well qualified they were much less disadvantaged. The Early Migrants who were poorly qualified however, still found it to be relatively difficult to get suitable employment. Discrimination against West Indians was also partly dependent on the tightness of the labour market. When, as in Birmingham, there were fewer job vacancies on offer, and employers could be more selective, West Indians found themselves at a particular disadvantage.

These findings were based on an examination of the manner in which the leavers' suitability was assessed by Careers Officers, and on the leavers' subsequent experiences when applying for jobs. When we asked the leavers for their opinions about why they had difficulty obtaining suitable employment it was found that at first they were somewhat reluctant to mention discrimination. After some prompting, however, it was found that their suspicions largely agreed with our own conclusions, as summarised above. There were two sets of circumstances, however, when West Indians appeared to underestimate the extent to which they had probably been affected by discriminatory attitudes on the part of employers: these were when the informant was ill-qualified for the job he/she was applying for, and when the person was a recent immigrant. Although other evidence showed very clearly that in these two situations West Indians were particularly vulnerable to discrimination, our informants appeared to be unaware of it.

In this chapter we shall examine how our informants' attitudes and opinions were gradually modified as they gained experience. Most of the data in the following tables were collected at the final interview. We deliberately kept the questions about discrimination to a minimum during the second and third interviews, as we wished to avoid constantly harping on this topic. But at the end of the final interview, as this was the last time we were to see them and as they now had more than five years experience on which to base their opinions, we seized the opportunity to enquire more deeply into the ways in which our informants felt that their careers and personal outlooks had been affected by the prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour of Whites, since leaving school.

Amount of discrimination encountered in employment over the five years

Table 11.1 shows how much discrimination our

informants said they had personally encountered, from their employers and fellow workers, during the five years. The situation was broadly the same in London and Birmingham, with about three people out of five claiming to have had some experience of discrimination in connection with their work. But there were some fairly substantial differences between the sexes and educational strata. Only 38% of the Later Migrant and 54% of the Early Migrant women thought they had been treated in a discriminatory manner at some time, as compared with 65% and 60% of their male counterparts. Complaints about discrimination were also more frequent amongst the less qualified. Whereas 48% of the people in the top educational stratum felt they had been affected by discrimination, in the bottom stratum the proportion was as much as 66%.

People were also asked whether they thought there had been a change in the general prevalence of discrimination against West Indians, in employment, over the past five years, and if so, what they thought was the reason for the change. Table 11.2 shows that in Birmingham people tended to think that the situation had deteriorated over the years largely because toward the end of the survey, as levels of unemployment rose and job vacancies became more scarce, employers had become increasingly prone to favour White applicants. Londoners were much more divided in their opinions, but on balance it would seem that in London people thought that there had been relatively little change over the years, probably because London had been less affected by the economic recession (see Chapter 5).

As we found earlier, when our informants first left school, the ethnicity of the interviewer had relatively little influence on the leaver's propensity to state that they believed they had been personally affected by discriminatory practices; neither did it appear to have much effect on their opinions about the manner in which the situation had changed since they left school. In both instances, people tended to be slightly more likely to emphasise the prevalence of discrimination when they were interviewed by a fellow West Indian – but the differences were fairly small (see Appendix I, Tables I.2 and I.3).

Employment situations producing worst experiences of discrimination

All who said they had met with some discrimination in employment were asked to describe the situations which had given rise to their worst experiences, whether it was when they were applying for jobs or when in employment, and if the latter, whether it was from their fellow workers or the people in charge.

Table 11.1 Amount of discrimination said to have been personally encountered in employment over the five years by sex, educational level and area

Amount of discrimination said to have been encountered from employers and fellow-workers over the five years	Sex				Educational level			Area	
	Males		Females		Low	Medium	High	London	Birmingham
	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A lot	6	5	8	4	9	7	5	5	8
Only a little	54	60	46	34	57	49	43	51	50
None	38	35	43	57	33	41	48	41	40
Other answer	—	—	2	2	—	—	3	3	—
No answer	2	—	1	2	1	2	—	—	2
Base (all West Indians at 4th interview)	125	43	99	47	81	85	58	76	148

Table 11.2 Opinions about changes in the prevalence of discrimination in relation to employment by sex, educational level and area

Informant considered that over the five years since he/she left school discrimination in employment had:	Sex				Educational level			Area	
	Males		Females		Low	Medium	High	London	Birmingham
	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Reduced because:									
Employers were now more ready to accept West Indians	3	5	6	—	7	2	3	7	3
There had been a general improvement in race relations	5	11	2	9	4	14	4	8	3
Other reasons	4	2	4	4	6	2	3	8	2
Remained about the same	18	21	19	11	20	20	16	14	21
Increased because:									
As jobs had become scarcer employers were more likely to accept Whites	13	16	11	13	10	12	16	5	16
West Indians increasingly classed as 'trouble-makers' because of the bad behaviour of a few	6	7	3	4	9	2	2	1	6
There had been a general deterioration in race relations	7	—	4	2	9	5	3	5	6
Other reasons	4	12	5	9	5	6	2	4	5
Had no personal experience of discrimination in employment	38	35	43	57	33	41	48	41	40
Don't know or other answer	8	5	5	4	5	8	7	13	4
No answer	1	5	—	—	—	—	2	—	1
Base (all West Indians in 4th interview sample)	125	43	99	47	81	85	58	76	148

NB The totals of persons who thought discrimination had reduced/increased are lower than the totals of reasons because many people gave more than one reason.

Table 11.3 shows that the Early Migrants (particularly the women) tended to feel especially strongly about discriminatory recruiting practices, whereas Later Migrants placed more emphasis on the way that they were treated at work. The Early Migrants' propensity to feel that their major problems had arisen when they were applying for jobs was exceptionally pronounced when they were less qualified and when they lived in Birmingham. The answers were the same, no matter whether it was a White or a West Indian who asked the questions.

Other situations in which West Indians felt they had been badly treated

Hostility or prejudice toward West Indians is not confined to employment, of course. We thought it would be useful, therefore, to attempt to compare the frequency with which West Indians encountered discrimination in employment, with how often they met with similar treatment elsewhere. All the West Indians, regardless of whether they felt they had been affected by discrimination in any way in the course of their work, were asked whether

Table 11.3 Employment situations said to have produced worst experiences of discrimination by sex, educational level and area

Informant considered his/her worst experiences of discrimination were:	Sex				Educational level			Area	
	Males		Females		Low	Medium	High	London	Birmingham
	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants
When applying for jobs	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
When actually in a job from:	28	21	39	13	38	34	24	29	35
Supervisors	12	7	—	15	9	2	10	8	6
	26	30	7	24	20	14	19	21	15
Fellow-workers	14	23	7	9	11	12	9	13	9
Discrimination equally bad when applying for jobs and in employment	2	2	4	—	2	5	—	4	2
Worst discrimination when in employment, but equally bad from supervisors and fellow-workers	—	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	1
Had never personally experienced any discrimination either when in employment or when applying for jobs	38	35	43	57	33	41	48	41	40
Other answers	5	9	4	4	5	2	9	5	5
No answer	2	—	1	2	1	2	—	—	2
Base (all West Indians at 4th interview)	125	43	99	47	81	85	58	76	148

Table 11.4 Other situations when people felt they had been treated badly because of being West Indian by sex, educational level and area

Over the previous five years had experienced:	Sex				Educational level			Area	
	Males		Females		Low	Medium	High	London	Birmingham
	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Unfair treatment/harassment from police	16	16	—	—	14	7	5	9	9
Rudeness/bad service from staff in shops and pubs etc	6	5	5	6	2	8	7	4	7
Unfriendly behaviour/remarks from general public	4	9	8	6	6	1	12	8	5
Other situations	1	—	2	6	—	4	—	1	1
Had experienced discrimination in relation to employment but had not been treated badly elsewhere	40	42	46	28	48	47	28	39	45
Had no personal experience of discrimination in employment or been treated badly elsewhere	32	30	39	53	30	32	47	38	34
Base (all West Indians at 4th interview)	125	43	99	47	81	85	58	76	148

they had "ever been treated badly because of being a West Indian in any other situation?", and if so, to give an example.

Table 11.4 shows that 15%–18% of the women and 27%–30% of the men reported instances of where they had been ill-treated or spoken to in an unfriendly or rude manner. Once again, it was found that our informants' responses when they were interviewed by a White were almost identical to when the interview was conducted by another West Indian.

Of the examples that were quoted, the most common complaint was about the manner in which the police were said to harass West Indian men. It is notable that conflict with the police appeared to be entirely confined to men, and also that (as in employment) it was the less educated

West Indian men who were the most troubled. However, whilst not wishing to underplay the seriousness of this tendency for men to feel that the police picked upon them because they were West Indians, it needs to be pointed out that despite the considerable publicity that has been given to this topic¹, the table shows very clearly that in practice men were far more likely to report having met with discrimination from their fellow workers and supervisors, than at the hands of the police*. As our informants were

* As we asked our informants for only one example of where they had been badly treated elsewhere, the 16% of men who complained about police behaviour may be an under-statement. On the other hand, as a conflict with the police would almost certainly be taken more seriously than an argument with a member of the general public, one would expect any mistreatment by the police to be the first thing that an informant would think to mention.

interacting with people at their workplaces throughout each working day, whereas in normal circumstances their contacts with the police would have been very infrequent, this is hardly surprising. The main point which concerns us here, however, is not the *degree* of prejudice that the police, or other people, appeared to exhibit in their dealings with our informants, but the *frequency* with which acts of discrimination were said to have been encountered in connection with their employment, as compared with elsewhere. Thus, the most important feature of Table 11.4 is that it demonstrates that (with the exception of the better educated West Indians) it was in relation to their employment that West Indians were most likely to report having met with this kind of behaviour by Whites.

Changes in personal attitudes to discrimination

Although on first leaving school the West Indians appeared sometimes to underestimate the degree to which prospective employers discriminated against West Indians (see Volume 1, Chapter 12), our informants' subsequent experiences would no doubt have dispelled some of their earlier illusions. Moreover, when competition for job vacancies became more intense toward the end of the survey period, West Indians who sought alternative employment were likely to find that employers were tending increasingly to favour White applicants (see Volume 1, Chapter 7). One would therefore expect the West Indians to become more conscious of discrimination as they grew older. In an attempt to find out what effect their experiences had had upon our informants' outlooks, at the final interview, after enquiring whether they thought there had been any change in the prevalence of discriminatory practices in employment over the five years, we asked them if "... your personal views about

racial discrimination have changed in any (other) way, since leaving school?": their answers are summarised in Table 11.5. We again found that our informants' responses were much the same, regardless of whether it was a White or a West Indian who carried out the interview.

The table shows that it was the Early Migrants (particularly the men) who had been the most disillusioned and embittered by their experiences. In contrast, the Later Migrant men had tended to become slightly more reconciled to their situation. The change in the outlooks of the Early Migrants was mostly confined to Birmingham, where job competition had become especially intense during the last two or three years of the survey (see Chapter 5). This tendency for West Indians to become more conscious of discriminatory practices when job opportunities became scarcer appears to have had a particularly sharp effect on the outlooks of better qualified people (see Tables 11.3 and 11.5).

When they first left school, at a time when job vacancies were more plentiful, the Early Migrants in the top educational stratum were fairly successful in getting the jobs they wanted, providing they were persistent. The less educated had more difficulty, partly because frequently they were underqualified for the jobs they sought, but also because they were competing not only with better qualified applicants but also with numerous under-qualified Whites. Thus, the less educated school leavers, of both ethnicities, were faced with a highly competitive situation from the moment they began seeking work. As we showed earlier, in these circumstances employers tended to favour the less qualified White applicant (see Volume 1, Chapter 12). However, as the encroaching

Table 11.5 Changes in West Indians' personal attitudes toward discrimination by sex, educational level and area

Informant said that since leaving school he/she had:	Sex				Educational level			Area	
	Males		Females		Low	Medium	High	London	Birmingham
	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Become more 'colour conscious'/ militant as a result of personal experiences	8 } 20	5 } 7	6 } 15	2 } 6	10 } 17	5 } 14	7 } 17	6 } 9	7 } 11
Become more aware of discrimination	12	2	9	4	7	9	17	62	65
Not changed his/her outlook	66	65	62	74	70	61	59	1	5
Learned to be less disturbed by discrimination	3	9	4	—	4	5	2	7	12
Found discrimination to be less prevalent than expected	2 } 7	2 } 16	4 } 10	2 } 4	— } 8	7 } 13	2 } 6	4 } 12	1 } 7
Acquired more white friends/mixes more easily with everyone now	2	5	2	2	4	1	2	4	1
Other answers/don't know	6	12	11	13	6	9	10	9	8
No answer	2	2	3	2	—	4	3	4	1
Base (all West Indians at 4th interview)	125	43	99	47	81	85	58	76	148

Table 11.6 Opinions about the effect of varying lengths of residence in Britain on a West Indian's job prospects by sex, educational level and area

Informant considered that:	Sex				Educational level			Area	
	Males		Females		Low	Medium	High	London	Birmingham
	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Length of residence in Britain made no difference to a West Indian's job prospects	42	66	53	53	52	49	37	44	49
A person who had lived in Britain for a longer time had an advantage when applying for jobs because:									
Speaks with less pronounced accent/more easily understood by native English	19	9	19	14	14	19	27	25	16
More familiar with English ways/knows better how to find jobs	24	13	22	17	16	25	31	24	23
English education/qualifications more acceptable to employers	22	6	20	21	16	23	25	26	18
Dress and/or manner more acceptable	3	—	2	2	1	2	6	5	1
Other reasons	12	6	7	9	8	12	9	8	10
Other answers/don't know	6	9	4	9	6	5	4	4	5
No answer	1	—	1	—	1	1	1	2	1
Base (all West Indians in 3rd interview sample)	144	53	129	58	104	102	67	91	182

recession began to make it hard for people to obtain work, even when they were well qualified, it appears that in the resulting competition for jobs even the better educated Early Migrants were beginning to feel themselves to be at a serious disadvantage.

The effect of length of residence in Britain on job prospects

One of our most interesting general findings had been the effect of length of residence in Britain on the way in which West Indians were treated by teachers, Careers Officers and prospective employers. Recent immigrants tended to be regarded as less capable, and (especially when they first left school) they had more difficulty getting suitable employment, than West Indians who had lived in Britain for all or most of their lives (see Volume 1, Chapter 12). We thought it might be useful, therefore, to discover the extent to which the West Indians were themselves aware of this factor and whether they could help to explain why it was so. Accordingly, at the third interview (after they had been on the labour market for about three years) we asked each West Indian informant: "Do you think the length of time a West Indian has lived in Britain affects in any way the kind of job he or she can get when leaving school?". Table 11.6 shows that the Early Migrants' views tended to vary according to how well they themselves had fared, by comparison with more recent immigrants. Thus, nearly two thirds of the better qualified Early Migrants (who had been the most successful) thought that people who had been resident in Britain for a long time had an advantage because they were less likely to speak with very strong accents, they were more familiar with English ways, and had obtained most or all of their education in Britain. The less qualified Early Migrants, however, were less convinced that length of residence in this country made any difference, which in their case was very understandable, as the Early Migrants in the bottom educational stratum had, in fact, often had

as much difficulty getting suitable work as people who had arrived in Britain only recently (see Volume 1, Chapter 12).

The Later Migrants' views varied considerably, depending on their sex. The Early and Later Migrant women had fairly similar opinions; but the Later Migrant men tended to feel that recent immigrants were much less handicapped than other people seemed to think. Here again, the divergence of opinion appears to be due to the differences in the personal experiences of the Later Migrant men and women. The Later Migrant women had fared particularly badly when they first left school, and although their situation improved subsequently, the general standard of their jobs at the end of the five years was still well below that of their Early Migrant counterparts, whereas the jobs that the Early and Later Migrant men eventually secured were of a similar academic level (see Chapter 3).

The interviewer's ethnicity had very little effect on our informants' answers: the main difference being that when the interviewer was white 5% more of both the Early and the Later Migrants said that it was advantageous to have lived in Britain for a long time.

Thus, in conclusion, it would seem that although people's views naturally varied according to their personal experiences, it is clear that their opinions broadly confirm our own findings, particularly in relation to the better qualified Early Migrants. Providing they had secured a fairly good education before leaving school, the Early Migrants tended to feel that their English education, lack of accent and familiarity with Britain gave them a distinct advantage when applying for jobs.

Table 11.7 Opinions about whether the government could do more to stop discrimination in employment by sex, educational level and area

	Sex						Educational level			Area	
	Both sexes		Males		Females		Low	Medium	High	London	Birmingham
	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Informant had personal experience of discrimination in employment ...											
... but did not think the government was able to do anything more to prevent it	38	28	38	35	38	21	43	40	29	39	38
... and thought the government should do more to:											
encourage employers to accept West Indians	6	6	4	2	9	9	7	6	5	4	7
implement race relations legislation more rigorously	7	4	9	7	4	2	9	4	9	5	7
adopt other measures	5	7	6	7	3	6	2	5	9	4	5
Informant had never experienced discrimination in employment	40	47	38	35	43	57	33	41	48	41	40
Other answers/don't know	5	9	5	12	5	6	6	6	3	7	4
No answer	*	1	1	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Base (all West Indians in 4th interview sample)	224	90	125	43	99	47	81	85	58	76	148

NB See also Appendix I, Table 1.4.

Discrimination and the need for government action

At the final interview, after having questioned our informants about how much discrimination they had encountered and whether they thought there had been any change in the general prevalence of discriminatory practices since they left school, we asked those who said they had had some personal experience of discrimination in connection with their work, whether they thought "... there is anything more that the government could do to help stop discrimination against West Indians, in employment?". This time it was found that the ethnicity of the interviewer had more effect on the answers we were given. When the interview was conducted by a West Indian, the Early Migrants, in particular, were more likely to say that the government should take further action: 24% of the Early Migrants and 19% of the Later Migrants, compared to 12% and 13% respectively, when the interviewer was White. However, even when the interviewer was a West Indian, only about two out of five (of those who felt that they had been personally affected by discriminatory practices) said that they thought the government could do more to try to eradicate the problem - (see Appendix I, Table 1.4). As Table 11.7 illustrates, the two forms of action which people advocated most frequently were that the government should implement existing race relations legislation more rigorously and make more effort to encourage employers to recruit West Indians*.

Summary

Overall, in both areas, about three out of five of the West Indians felt that they had experienced some discrimination in connection with their employment, during the five years since they had left school. Complaints tended to be more common amongst men and the less qualified. Early Migrants tended to feel that their worst experiences of discrimination had been when applying for jobs, whereas Later Migrants placed more emphasis on the way they were treated at work.

When they first left school, at a time when job vacancies were relatively plentiful, the better educated Early Migrants were much less affected by discriminatory recruiting practices (compared with less qualified Early Migrants and more recent immigrants), but when job competition became more intense in Birmingham during the latter half of the survey, even the better qualified Early Migrants were beginning to feel themselves to be at a serious disadvantage. In London (where the effects of the recession were less severe) the balance of opinion suggested that there had been relatively little change in the general prevalence of discrimination over the five years.

* It should be noted that the main provisions of the 1976 Race Relations Act did not come into force until 13 June 1977 - half-way through the fieldwork for the final interview. It is impossible to judge, therefore, how much influence, if any, the promulgation of the Act may have had on our informants' opinions.

Although many informants reported having been treated badly in other situations (especially in their contacts with the police) it was in relation to their employment that West Indians were most likely to feel that they had been treated in a discriminatory manner.

Our informants' opinions about the effect that length of residence in the UK had upon a West Indian's job prospects naturally varied according to their personal experiences, but broadly agreed with our own findings. Thus, the better qualified Early Migrants tended to think that their English education, lack of accent and familiarity with Britain had given them a distinct advantage over people who had come to this country only recently. Whereas the (less successful) Early Migrants in

the bottom educational stratum were much less convinced that length of residence in Britain made any difference.

Three out of five of the West Indians who felt they had been affected by discrimination in employment believed there was nothing more that the government could do to eradicate the problem. The others mostly advocated a more rigorous implementation of existing race relations legislation, or more vigorous efforts to encourage employers to recruit West Indians.

Reference

- ¹ *The Brixton disorders 10-12 April 1981*. The Scarman Report. HMSO, 1981, paras 4.47 and 4.62.

Part III Conclusions

12 Career profiles and the achievement of ambitions

In this chapter we have tried to summarise our informants' employment histories over the five years. The aim has been to describe people's careers in relation to how successful they were in securing jobs in their preferred occupations; how much difficulty they had in getting what they wanted; and how much progress they made over the five years, in terms of the relative standard of their jobs at the beginning and at the end of the period.

It should be noted that throughout this chapter, when a person is said to have remained in the 'same occupation' this means the same occupational *path*, but not necessarily at the same level. Thus, a shorthand-typist who later became a secretary is deemed to have remained in the same occupation, as is a skilled manual worker who stayed in the same type of work but was subsequently promoted to charge-hand.

Achievement of ambitions

The first table provides an overall view of the ambitions of each group of informants when they first left school, and their revised aspirations six months later, compared with their occupational distributions at the first and the final interviews.

The table shows that in the six months between their leaving school and the first interview, there was relatively little alteration in the general nature of people's occupational preferences. It should be noted, however, that in Table 12.1 we have classified people's aspirations very broadly, in terms of their occupational grouping. Although, six months later, most people still wanted the same general type of work as before, many who had failed to get into the exact occupations they had originally aimed for but had obtained employment within the same occupational group, had reconciled themselves to remaining in their existing occupations (see Table 12.4). The table, therefore, tends to understate the degree of adjustment that had occurred. It illustrates, however, that the *general nature* of people's occupational aspirations underwent relatively little change during the first six months of their careers.

The most interesting feature of the table is the degree to which people were frustrated in their ambitions. The difference between the occupational groups people would have liked to enter and those in which they eventually gained employment is particularly marked amongst the men and the West Indian women.

Especially toward the end of the five years, many white men were placed in low grade occupations, contrary to their wishes. The West Indian men (both Early and Later Migrants) also had frequently to accept employment in inferior occupations when they first left school, although, unlike their white counterparts, in subsequent years they avoided drifting yet further into this type of work.

The West Indian women (particularly the more recent immigrants) had similar difficulties when they first sought for employment, but later they were able to move into occupations closer to the type they had originally wanted. In contrast with the other groups, the white women tended to be very successful from the start in securing the sort of work they wanted, and also their occupational distributions remained virtually unchanged throughout the five years.

The relative ease with which the white women were able to realise their aspirations, compared with their male counterparts, is because the women tended to be much better qualified for the jobs they were seeking (see Volume 1, Chapter 5, Table 5.7). The West Indian women were also nearly as well qualified as were the white women, and should therefore have met with similar success. The much larger proportion of West Indian women (particularly the Later Migrants) who had initially to accept jobs in occupations inferior to those they had originally wanted demonstrates the effect of discriminatory recruiting practices. Furthermore, although the West Indians were able eventually to gain entry to occupations much closer to the general type they were aiming for, the overall standard of their jobs (as we observed in Table 3.6) still remained below that of the white women's.

The men, of both ethnicities, but especially the less educated West Indians, were often aspiring to enter technical and skilled manual occupations for which they were inadequately qualified (see Volume 1, Chapter 5). In consequence, many were frustrated in their ambitions, and had to accept alternative employment (see Table 12.1).

It is also noticeable, amongst both Whites and West Indians, that the lower the leavers' educational levels the more likely they were to revise their aspirations after leaving school and to end up in different occupations from those in which they first gained employment. This

Table 12.1 Occupational group of first and final occupations compared with ambitions by sex, educational level and area

Occupational group	Desired job when leaving school			First job*			Revised ambition			Final job†		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
Sex: Males	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Higher non-manual	20	13	9	24	8	9	21	14	14	17	18	16
Skilled manual	67	80	84	55	67	72	62	74	79	50	62	63
Lower manual/non-manual	7	3	2	21	25	19	12	4	5	34	21	21
Uncertain	6	2	5	—	—	—	4	3	2	—	—	—
Insufficient information	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	4	—	—	—	—
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	125			125			125			125		
Females												
Higher non-manual	81	85	87	85	68	64	83	86	92	86	80	81
Skilled manual	3	5	2	5	11	2	4	5	2	—	5	2
Lower manual/non-manual	10	5	9	10	21	34	10	5	6	13	14	15
Uncertain	6	5	2	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—
Insufficient information	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	1	2	2
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	99			99			99			99		
Educational level: Low												
Higher non-manual	40	36	—	42	22	—	43	40	—	40	32	—
Skilled manual	43	53	—	31	41	—	36	48	—	25	40	—
Lower manual/non-manual	16	6	—	27	36	—	19	4	—	36	27	—
Uncertain	1	5	—	—	—	—	2	4	—	—	—	—
Insufficient information	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	1	—
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	81			81			81			81		
Medium												
Higher non-manual	42	46	—	48	36	—	44	45	—	44	46	—
Skilled manual	40	47	—	38	45	—	41	44	—	35	41	—
Lower manual/non-manual	7	4	—	14	19	—	9	7	—	21	13	—
Uncertain	11	1	—	—	—	—	4	2	—	—	—	—
Insufficient information	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	85			85			85			85		
High												
Higher non-manual	64	55	—	66	48	—	62	57	—	64	62	—
Skilled manual	31	38	—	29	40	—	31	38	—	21	26	—
Lower manual/non-manual	—	2	—	5	12	—	3	2	—	14	12	—
Uncertain	5	5	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
Insufficient information	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	—
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	58			58			58			58		

Occupational group	Desired job when leaving school		First job*		Revised ambition		Final job†	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Area: London								
Higher non-manual	51	45	57	38	51	45	54	49
Skilled manual	37	45	33	37	34	43	24	32
Lower manual/non-manual	4	3	11	25	7	4	22	18
Uncertain	8	7			5	4		
Insufficient information	—	1	—	—	3	4	—	1
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	76		76		76		76	
Birmingham								
Higher non-manual	45	45	47	32	47	47	44	43
Skilled manual	40	48	34	45	38	44	30	39
Lower manual/non-manual	11	5	19	22	14	5	26	18
Uncertain	5	2			2	1		
Insufficient information	—	1	—	—	—	3	1	—
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	148		148		148		148	

* Present or last job at 1st interview. For people who had yet to obtain a job at 1st interview jobs at the 2nd interview have been substituted.
† Present or last job at final (4th) interview.

can be seen even more clearly from Table 12.2 which examines, in greater detail, the changes that occurred in the nature of people's occupations over the five years.

Changes in the nature and quality of jobs

Table 12.2 shows that only 28% of the Early Migrants and 35% of the Whites in the bottom educational stratum remained in the same occupations until the end of the survey period, compared with 53% of their peers in the top stratum. Similarly, if one compares the proportions of Early Migrants in each educational stratum who remained in the same occupational group throughout the five years (that is, in the same or in a related occupation) one finds, once again, that the lower the leavers' educational levels the more likely they were to change their employment for work of a different type. Thus, Table 12.2 shows that as many as 41% of Early Migrants in the bottom stratum subsequently transferred to a different occupational group, compared with 29% in the middle stratum and only 19% in the top stratum. Amongst the Whites, however, the association between educational levels and occupational mobility was much less pronounced: the equivalent percentages who changed occupational groups being 35%, 25% and 26%, in the bottom, middle and top strata, respectively.

The bottom part of the table also shows (as we noted in Chapter 4 in our discussion of the general effects of job mobility) that the occupational changes made by West Indians tended to be more beneficial to them, to the extent that they were more likely than Whites to move up into a better class of employment.

The first part of Table 12.2 confirms that the white women were much more likely to keep within the same occupational group, than were their male counterparts. Occupational mobility also tended to be lower amongst the Later Migrant women, but when they did change the nature of their jobs it was almost invariably to move from lower stratum occupations into higher non-manual work. The job changes of the other sub-groups produced much more mixed results: the (less educated) white males, in particular, frequently moving *downwards* from skilled manual or higher non-manual work into lower grade occupations.

However, neither of the two tables we have so far examined take into account the variations in the standards of the jobs held by Whites and West Indians *within* each occupational group. In Table 12.3 we have assessed the results of our informants' job changes in terms of the minimum qualifications usually required for entry to their first and last occupations. This again confirms that, with the exception of the Later Migrant women, the West Indians tended to benefit more from their job changing, than did their white counterparts. It also shows, however, that the sub-groups which had been the most upwardly mobile (in terms of their net movements from low grade occupations into skilled manual or higher non-manual work) were often *not* the ones which achieved the greatest improvement in the academic level of their employment. This can be seen more clearly if we look at the net figures in the bottom parts of Tables 12.2 and 12.3.

Table 12.2 Comparison of first and final occupations by sex, educational level and area

First and last jobs were both in:	Sex						Educational level					
	Males			Females			Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
The same occupation	38	38	44	62	38	57	35	28	58	36	53	53
Different occupations but in the same occupational group	21	26	26	24	37	17	30	30	18	35	19	28
Different occupational groups, that is had:												
(a) moved between skilled manual and higher non-manual	6	10	5	3	3	—	1	5	7	11	7	9
(b) moved up from lower manual/non-manual to skilled manual or higher non-manual	11	15	12	4	12	21	12	22	6	12	5	5
(c) moved down from skilled manual or higher non-manual to lower manual/non-manual	24	11	14	6	5	2	22	14	12	6	14	5
Insufficient information	—	—	—	1	1	2	—	1	—	—	2	—
Net movement up (+) or down (-) between skilled manual/higher non-manual and lower manual/non-manual	-13	+4	-2	-2	+7	+19	-10	+8	-6	+6	-9	0
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	125		43	99		47	81		85		58	

NB For people who had yet to obtain a job at the 1st interview jobs at the 2nd interview have been substituted.

The figures above show (as we observed in Chapter 4) that the net movements between occupational groups are not a good measure of the overall changes in the *academic* standard of jobs. Although by moving from lower manual/non-manual jobs into skilled manual or higher non-manual work many people, the West Indian women in particular, eventually succeeded in obtaining employment closer to the type they desired, this frequently failed to produce a commensurate rise in the general standard of their work, as assessed by the minimum qualifications usually required for entry to their jobs. In other words, people who failed initially to get the type of work they wanted, but succeeded later on in getting jobs in their desired occupational groups, often had to accept employment at an inferior level. This is particularly well demonstrated by the experiences of the Later Migrant women. Thus, whereas they were highly successful in moving out from the lower stratum occupations in which a disproportionate number had been obliged to accept employment when they first left school (see Table 12.1), in practice the general academic standard of their new jobs was only slightly superior to that of their previous employment.

Conversely, amongst the white men, although there was an appreciable net movement *downwards* from skilled manual or higher non-manual jobs into lower manual/non-manual work, over the five years, this produced only a slight deterioration in the general academic level of their

employment. This means that many of the white men had merely exchanged (inferior grade) jobs in the two upper occupational groups for work of a similar academic level in the lower occupational stratum; their job assessments suggest that one of their reasons may have been a desire for better pay (see Table 9.3).

There is also a very interesting difference in the benefits that West Indians derived from job changing, according to their level of education. Although the less qualified Early Migrants were more likely to have changed their occupations and to display a net movement upwards from lower stratum jobs into skilled manual or higher non-manual work, it was the better qualified Early Migrants who tended to gain the greatest improvement in the academic level of their final jobs.

However, although Tables 12.2 and 12.3 show that the West Indians' occupational changes were often not as beneficial as might at first appear, insofar as their subsequent employment – although closer to what they wanted – was often of a mediocre academic standard, we must take care not to denigrate the advances they had made. The West Indians' own job assessments at the third interview showed very clearly that although they did not like the nature of their current employment quite as much as did the Whites, their occupational changes over the first three years had produced a notable improvement in the general suitability of their employment (see Chapter 9).

First and last jobs were both in:	Area			
	London		Birmingham	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
<i>The same occupation</i>	51	36	47	39
<i>Different occupations but in the same occupational group</i>	17	32	25	31
<i>Different occupational groups, that is had:</i>				
(a) moved between skilled manual and higher non-manual	7	4	4	10
(b) moved up from lower manual/non-manual to skilled manual or higher non-manual	7	17	9	12
(c) moved down from skilled manual or higher non-manual to lower manual/non-manual	18	11	15	5
Insufficient information	—	1	—	—
Net movement up (+) or down (-) between skilled manual/higher non-manual and lower manual/non-manual	-11	+6	-6	+5
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	76		148	

Table 12.3 Comparison of minimum qualifications required for entry to first and final occupations by sex, educational level and area

Minimum level of qualifications* required for entry to final occupation was:	Sex						Educational level					
	Males			Females			Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Higher than . . .	14	15	12	24	26	17	19	14	18	24	19	24
The same as . . .	68	67	81	62	67	70	64	79	66	59	66	62
Lower than . . .	18	14	7	14	7	11	17	7	16	14	16	12
... for first occupation	—	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	4	—	2
Insufficient information	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Net rise (+) or fall (-) in minimum level of qualifications required for entry to final occupation	-4	+1	+5	+10	+19	+6	+2	+7	+2	+10	+3	+12
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	125			43			81		85		58	

	Area			
	London		Birmingham	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%
Higher than . . .	17	24	19	18
The same as . . .	61	59	68	71
Lower than . . .	22	12	14	11
... for first occupation	—	5	—	—
Insufficient information	—	—	—	—
Net rise (+) or from (-) in minimum level of qualifications required for entry to final occupation	-5	+12	+5	+7
<i>Base (all leavers at 4th interview)</i>	76		148	

* According to HEG Scale (see Volume 1, Appendix III).
NB For people who had yet to obtain a job at the first interview jobs at the second interview have been substituted.

Career profiles

In the final two tables we have attempted to summarise our informants' careers: firstly, according to how successful people were in securing their preferred jobs, how much difficulty they had doing so, and how consistently they kept to their chosen occupations; and then, by examining the general characteristics of the people who followed each of the (three) main career paths. The first of these (12.4) classifies the careers of each sub-group according to how closely the first and last occupations of each informant corresponded with their aspirations. The table shows that the general tendency for women (both Whites and West Indians) to be more successful in securing employment in the exact occupations they wanted, when they first left school, was repeated in later years.

Table 12.4 also again illustrates how at first the West Indians had more difficulty, than did Whites, in getting work in their preferred occupations, and that they tended to be less contented with the nature of their initial jobs. The West Indians' dissatisfaction was accentuated because when they failed to get employment in the occupations they had been aiming for they were less likely than were Whites to obtain suitable alternative employment in a related occupation (see Volume 1, Chapter 9).

Over subsequent years, however, the West Indians had more success in getting into the types of occupation they wanted. In addition, the table shows that the West Indians who had obtained their desired jobs when leaving school were more likely to keep to their chosen occupations, than were Whites. In consequence, by the end of the five years the proportions of West Indians whose final jobs were in their desired occupations (see bottom part to Table 12.4) show that they had largely caught up with their white counterparts. The main exception was the Later Migrant women, whose jobs at the end of the survey period were still more likely, than those of other women, to be in different occupations to the ones they had originally wanted. In contrast, both groups of West Indian men, in addition to being equally successful in securing jobs in their preferred occupations, were also eventually more likely, than were Whites, to obtain work in an alternative occupation within the same

Table 12.4 Detailed career profiles by sex, educational level and area

Career profile	Sex						Educational level					
	Males			Females			Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Entered desired occupation when leaving school . . .												
... and was still in same occupation five years later	24	22	21	35	31	30	15	16	33	26	43	41
... but subsequently moved into:	41	36	25	48	38	38	31	26	47	38	51	53
another occupation of the same type†	7	9	2	8	7	6	10	9	5	8	9	7
a different type of occupation	10	5	2	5	1	2	6	1	9	4	9	5
First occupation was not what originally wanted but was content to remain in occupation entered . . .												
... and was still in same occupation five years later	10	9	9	11	2	6	12	5	12	7	5	5
... but subsequently moved into:	21	16	9	15	6	6	24	11	15	13	11	10
another occupation of the same type†	5	3	—	2	3	—	6	5	1	2	3	2
a different type of occupation	6	4	—	2	1	—	6	1	2	4	3	3
First occupation was not what originally wanted and discontented with nature of job obtained . . .												
... but obtained job in desired occupation* later	1	3	9	10	25	11	5	11	4	12	7	14
... and five years later occupation was:	31	39	60	16	51	54	41	53	27	45	23	31
still not what had originally wanted but of the same type	12	18	28	4	15	28	20	16	12	22	9	10
of a different type to what had originally wanted	18	18	23	11	15	15	16	26	11	11	7	7
Others: (ie uncertain of ambition when left school/and/or six months later (at 1st interview)/insufficient information)	8	8	5	6	5	5	4	10	12	4	5	5
Total whose final job was:												
in desired occupation*	35	34	39	56	58	47	32	32	49	45	55	60
not what was originally* wanted but of the same type†	24	30	30	26	25	34	36	30	18	32	21	19
in a different type of occupation to what originally wanted*	34	27	5	11	13	2	28	28	22	19	19	15
Uncertain of ambition/insufficient information	8	8	5	5	5	2	2	10	12	4	5	5
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	125	43	99	47	81	85	58					

* The occupation wanted when first left school, or if subsequently revised ambition, the occupation was aiming for 6 months later.

† In the same occupational group.

NB For people who had yet to obtain a job at the 1st interview jobs at the 2nd interview have been substituted.

occupational group if they failed to get exactly what they wanted. This is a further illustration of the way in which the general suitability of the West Indians' employment improved over time. We need to remember, however, that although many West Indians did succeed in finding their way into more congenial work eventually, the jobs they secured were often of an inferior academic standard.

Table 12.4 also again demonstrates the importance of educational differences to the relative success of people's careers, as adjudged by the success with which they were able to obtain employment of the type they wanted. The bottom part of the table shows that both Whites and West Indians in the top educational stratum were nearly twice as likely to secure work in their preferred occupations, compared with their peers in the bottom stratum, more

Career profile

	Area			
	London		Birmingham	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%
Entered desired occupation when leaving school . . .				
... and was still in same occupation five years later	30	28	28	26
... but subsequently moved into:				
another occupation of the same type†	9	5	7	9
a different type of occupation	8	5	8	2
First occupation was not what originally wanted but was content to remain in occupation entered . . .				
... and was still in same occupation five years later	12	5	9	6
... but subsequently moved into:				
another occupation of the same type†	1	5	5	2
a different type of occupation	5	—	3	4
First occupation was not what originally wanted and discontented with nature of job obtained . . .				
... but obtained job in desired occupation* later	5	16	5	10
... and five years later occupation was:				
still not what had originally* wanted but of the same type	7	16	18	18
a different type to what had originally wanted	13	11	11	18
Others: (ie uncertain of ambition when left school/and/or six months later (at 1st interview)/insufficient information)	9	10	6	5
Total whose final job was:				
in desired occupation*	47	49	42	42
not what was originally* wanted but of the same type†	17	26	30	29
in a different type of occupation to what originally wanted*	26	16	22	24
Uncertain of ambition/insufficient information	9	10	6	5
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	76		148	

than a quarter (28%) of whom had eventually to accept employment in different occupational groups to those they had originally aspired to enter. As we have shown previously, this is because many less educated school leavers were striving to enter occupations for which they were underqualified (see Volume 1, Chapter 5).

Associated characteristics of main career profiles

In Table 12.5 we examine some of the other distinguishing characteristics of the employment histories of people who followed each of the main career paths. For this purpose, we have had to combine the (nine) career profile types listed in Table 12.4, into three, in order to have sufficient numbers for analysis. As the sample of Later Migrants was too small for further sub-division in this form, we have also had to confine the table to Whites and Early Migrants.

The career profiles used in Table 12.5 sub-divide each ethnic group according to whether people's final jobs were in their preferred occupational groups and (for those who got what they wanted) whether they were contented with the type of work they secured on first leaving school.

The first profile in the table is of people whose careers were generally the most satisfactory, in that they secured a suitable job immediately and were still in the same or in a similar type of occupation five years later. As might be expected, we find that their overall level of job satisfaction was higher and also they tended to have had fewer job changes and less unemployment than other people.

The people who had this kind of career were more likely to be well qualified for the jobs they were seeking. It is also noteworthy that the West Indians, in particular, who followed this career path, were outstandingly successful in gaining further vocational qualifications through part-time further education.

The people in the next profile type (which included an especially high proportion of West Indians) also eventually succeeded in securing congenial employment, although at first their jobs were unsatisfactory. As one would expect, their final occupations were frequently of a higher academic standard than those in which they initially obtained employment. These people had more difficulty partly because they tended to be less well-qualified for the jobs they were seeking; and consequently they had more job changes and unemployment before they eventually got what they wanted. Their overall level of job satisfaction over the five years tended to be lower than that of people in the first profile because of their discontent with their first employment (see also Chapter 9).

The third career path depicted in Table 12.5 was often characteristic of people who, especially when they first left school, were aiming for jobs for which they were under-qualified. These people often had to reconcile themselves to work of a very different kind to that which they had originally wanted. Their dissatisfaction with the nature of the employment they were able to secure appears to have led many of them into frequent job changing and a great deal of unemployment. As we showed earlier (see Chapter 4), a high level of job mobility of this kind, especially amongst the Whites, was often

Table 12.5 Associated characteristics of principal career profiles

	Was contented with nature of occupation entered when first left school, and five years later was in same occupation or in one of a similar type†		Was discontented with nature of occupation entered when first left school, but five years later had obtained job in desired occupation* or in one of a similar type†		All whose final jobs were in different types of occupation to what they had wanted*		Others who were uncertain of ambition when left school and/or six months later/insufficient information		Total sample	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
Proportion adequately qualified for:										
ambition when leaving school	58%	58%	43%	43%	36%	32%	2	3	47%	46%
revised aspirations six months later	65%	64%	38%	40%	47%	40%	5	2	53%	49%
Proportion who had gained vocational qualifications through part-time further education	33%	51%	23%	26%	8%	9%	4	—	25%	31%
Comparison of academic level of first and final jobs	%	%	%	%	%	%			%	%
Last job better than first job	16	16	31	34	11	9	4	4	18	21
Last job same level as first job	73	72	62	58	55	72	9	11	65	68
Last job inferior to first job	11	11	7	8	34	19	3	—	17	11
Total number of jobs since leaving school										
1-2 jobs	62	54	33	32	28	30	8	4	48	41
3-4 jobs	21	21	43	35	36	32	5	7	29	29
5 or more jobs	17	26	24	32	36	38	3	4	23	30
Total unemployment since leaving school										
Up to 1 month	63	33	43	28	30	23	7	4	50	29
1 month to 6 months	27	47	38	42	43	28	5	7	33	42
Over 6 months	11	20	19	31	27	49	4	4	17	29
Overall job satisfaction over the five years										
High	65	46	38	34	49	32	6	5	54	39
Medium	34	48	62	58	45	62	10	9	44	55
Low	1	5	—	7	6	6	—	1	2	6
Base (all leavers at 4th interview)	113	97	42	65	53	47	16	15	224	224
Proportion in each profile type	50%	43%	19%	20%	24%	21%	7%	7%	100%	100%

* The occupation had wanted when first left school, or if subsequently revised ambition, the occupation was aiming for six months later.

† In the same occupational group.

NB For people who had yet to obtain a job at the first interview jobs at the second interview have been substituted.

associated with a steady deterioration in the quality of people's jobs, as is again illustrated in Table 12.5. Not surprisingly, these people were very unlikely to have acquired further qualifications through part-time further education. Interestingly, although they had failed to fulfil their aspirations, their overall level of job satisfaction was not especially low.

As the table shows, the course of people's careers was much influenced by the academic suitability of their initial aspirations. In addition, it is significant that in whichever career profile they were placed, the Early Migrants tended invariably to have more job changes, a greater amount of unemployment and a lower level of job satisfaction over the five years, than did the Whites who trod the same path.

Some illustrative case histories

The following case histories are intended to illustrate the career profiles depicted in Table 12.5. Firstly, however, we need to make a few general remarks about the manner in which our examples were selected. Especially when one has such a wealth of information about people's employment histories as we were able to gather in this study, it very soon becomes apparent when reading through the individual records, that there is no such thing as a 'typical' case. In this instance the difficulty in choosing suitable examples was compounded by the fact that the personal characteristics of the people who were found most frequently to follow each career path varied considerably, according to their sex, their ethnicity and (in the case of the West Indians) on how long they had lived in Britain. Our general method, therefore, has been

firstly to identify the sub-groups which most commonly took each route and then to choose a White, an Early Migrant and a Later Migrant, whose general characteristics and experiences were broadly representative of the people (within each of these groups) who often had this type of career.

Profile type I

Persons who were contented with the occupations they entered on first leaving school and whose last jobs were in similar occupations. This type of career was generally most characteristic of people with a higher standard of education, especially women.

Case (i)

Mary, a white girl, was the younger of two sisters. Her elder sister worked as a nursery nurse. Their father was a personnel manager in a local factory; the mother did not have any paid employment. Mary's father felt that young people should be left to make up their own minds about the kind of work they did and that parental suggestions could be counterproductive – although his wife did attend one of the interviews that their daughter had with the Careers Officer. Her father was nevertheless in favour of girls getting a thorough vocational training, as he believed that qualifications (and ability) were of prime importance in getting a satisfying job. He did not, however, think that training was so important for a girl as it was for a boy.

In her fifth year at school Mary was very unsure about the kind of work she wanted to do. She toyed with the idea of becoming a physiotherapist or a dental nurse, however, as the Careers Officer pointed out, at that stage her educational qualifications were inadequate for either of these occupations. The Careers Officer and her teacher suggested she might try for clerical work or, preferably, stay on at school for a further year to improve her education. As Mary was unattracted to office work she decided to carry on into the sixth form and subsequently secured three O levels (in English, Human Biology and Typing) and four CSEs. She then discussed with the Careers Officer the possibilities of entering the Blood Transfusion Service or becoming a nursery nurse like her sister. She eventually opted for nursery nursing and the Careers Officer arranged for her to apply for training. The officer was most favourably impressed by Mary's personal qualities and general ability and thought she would be very good with children. Mary's application for training was accepted and she began work in a local authority day nursery immediately after leaving school, at the age of seventeen years.

Six months later, Mary was generally very pleased with her job and was being given Day Release to attend her training course at the local technical college. Her only complaint was that as a student nurse her pay was very poor.

Mary remained as a nursery nurse for about three years, continuing her training and finally qualifying. Toward the end of this period, however, she moved to a nursery attached to a hospital, which proved to be much less satisfactory. After nine months she left, complaining of the irregular hours, poor accommodation and of insufficient

work because of over-staffing. She then took a job as an assistant in a dress shop. Mary found her new occupation a mixed blessing: whilst she liked being kept busy and enjoyed meeting people she found the work rather unfulfilling. She was hoping to find more satisfying work later. She was willing to consider moving elsewhere to get a better job, but was not very keen about leaving home again, after her last experience of living-in at the hospital. She now wished she had been better qualified when she left school and had had a clearer idea about what type of career to pursue.

Not long after this she married and moved with her husband to another locality. She was without paid employment for about six months whilst arranging for her marriage and settling in to her new home. Then, Mary applied for an advertised vacancy for a nursery nurse at a local nursery school. At our last interview (five years after she had left school) she was very satisfied with her job and was hoping to get further training. However, although she was pleased to have returned to the work for which she had trained (and enjoyed) she still had some lingering doubts about whether she had made the right choice of career and wished that her teacher and Careers Officer could have given her more help in making up her mind about what to do when leaving school.

Case (ii)

Winston was from a family of five children of whom he was the eldest. He was the only one to have been born abroad, on one of the smaller islands of the West Indies, but was brought to this country by his parents whilst he was still only a few months old. His father, who had previously worked as a welder in the West Indies, was currently employed as a panel beater in the motor trade. The mother did not go out to work.

Winston's parents took a fairly active interest in their son's choice of employment and the father had accompanied his son to one of his interviews with the Careers Officer. Although the father thought that good jobs did not necessarily go to those who had the best qualifications and ability, he felt, nevertheless, that it was important for a school leaver to try to get a good vocational training. But he had doubts about the general quality of apprenticeship training and thought it preferable for a boy to stay on at school to get a better education, rather than to leave early to enter an apprenticeship.

From the beginning, Winston was very clear about what he wanted to do. At his first interview with the Careers Officer he said he wanted a job in 'electronics'. The Careers Officer suggested he also considered doing clerical work. At his next interview with the CO, Winston told him he wanted to apply to be a trainee technician in the GPO. (Winston told us, later, that the Post Office had been recommended to him by a relative who was similarly employed.) The CO appeared to be fairly impressed by Winston, describing him as being of above average intelligence. As he was also reported to be doing well in his fifth form studies, the CO thought his client should stand a good chance of acceptance by the Post Office. Winston subsequently secured three O level passes (in Mathematics, Physics and History), plus four CSEs, and

his application to become a GPO trainee – which was arranged through the CO – was accepted. He started work immediately after leaving school, at the age of sixteen years.

At our first interview with Winston, six months later, he was very satisfied with the way things were going. He enjoyed his work, thought his conditions of employment were all right, and he would shortly be starting a course of study (by Block Release) to work for his City and Guilds Technological Certificate in Telecommunications. He got on well with his workmates and supervisors. His parents were also pleased.

At the next interview, fifteen months later, Winston was still generally happy with his employment, but was beginning to feel very disgruntled about his pay. He felt that although when qualified the pay was reasonable, trainees were very underpaid. Also, although generally he found the people he worked with easy to get on with, he went regularly to the Post Office social club, and often went out with friends from work, he would have rather liked to have had the company of another West Indian at his workplace. All the people he met at work were Whites, apart from three Asians. He was getting on well with his studies, and in addition to the Block Release course was also attending evening classes in Telephony and Telegraphy.

Three years after leaving school he had finished his initial apprenticeship, but was still technically a trainee (until he was 21). His only complaint was that, as before, he considered the pay whilst in training was unreasonably low. Otherwise, he had no regrets about his career, so far. Unlike his father, Winston was convinced that good qualifications were the only avenue to success. He also felt that people (like himself) who had lived all their lives in Britain generally had an advantage in employment because of having a better education, than those who had received part of their schooling in the West Indies.

By the end of the survey, two years later, Winston had completed his training and was a fully qualified Technical Officer. His example had been followed by his younger brother who had also recently joined the GPO, as an apprentice. Looking back over his career, he was fairly content with what he had achieved, but felt that his pay was a bit low and the promotion prospects rather poor. His opportunities for promotion were limited because there were not enough higher grade posts for the many qualified people waiting to fill them *not* because his chances were restricted because of being a West Indian. He had never experienced any discrimination in his employment, nor was he conscious of ever having been treated badly because of being a West Indian, in any other situation. His main doubt about his career was that he now felt that it might have been better to have joined the BBC where they had similar posts, with much better pay.

Case (iii)

Beverley, her elder sister and two younger brothers were all born in Jamaica, and Beverley was fourteen years old when she came to Britain. The father was a factory labourer and the mother worked full time as a packer in a food factory.

Beverley's father was absent at the time, so we interviewed her mother. Neither of the parents had attended an interview with the Careers Officer and the mother had no knowledge of what the CO had advised their daughter to do. The mother said she was generally in favour of a girl getting some kind of training, although she thought that ultimately the most important thing was to get a *well-paid* job. She also felt that getting a good job (and promotion) depended more on luck and on knowing the right people, rather than on how able or well-qualified you were.

Beverley could not remember her teacher having given her any specific advice about what to do when leaving school. She had two interviews with the Careers Officer, on the first of which she had told the officer she was interested in shorthand/typing, nursing or teaching. The CO thought she might get a post as a junior typist, but told her she was under-qualified to be a nurse or a teacher. The CO considered her to be of below average intelligence and noted that she had a strong West Indian accent which made it difficult at times to comprehend what she said. Her teacher had also observed of Beverley that "*her English hampers her progress*".

She finally left school, at eighteen years of age, with one O level (in Commerce) and five CSEs in related subjects. She failed to get the junior shorthand/typing post for which she was submitted through the Careers Office, and thereafter sought for employment by other means as she was dissatisfied with the standard of jobs which the CO offered her. Eventually (after making numerous applications for various jobs) a month after leaving school she secured temporary work through a private agency. Not long after, her elder sister who worked for the local council as a shorthand/typist, drew Beverley's attention to a shorthand/typing vacancy in another council office. She got the job and when we called to see her, shortly afterwards, she was generally pleased with her employment. Her main misgivings were that she did not like the way she was sometimes treated by her supervisor and did not find her colleagues to be very friendly. She remained in the council job for only a few weeks, however, and was then dismissed, together with two other girls, on the grounds that their typing speeds were inadequate. Beverley then spent four and a half months searching for work and after many applications finally got a secretarial job in a manufacturing firm.

When we visited her again, a few months after she had started her third job, she said that although the pay was not as good as in her previous employment she was much happier now as she enjoyed the work and found her colleagues much easier to get on with. She had also begun attending evening classes in O level English and Biology.

At our next visit, just over three years from when she had left school, she was still in the same job. Although she was generally satisfied with her employment she did not think it was a very good firm to work for; the pay was poor and she felt a bit insecure. She would be very willing to move to another area if it would help her to get better employment. When asked about her general attitudes to work, we found that although she was not quite as pessimistic as her mother, Beverley also felt that one's qualifications were often inadequately rewarded. Since our previous

visit she had taken and passed an evening course in (Pitman's) shorthand, but had failed her two O level courses. She was now attending evening classes in needlework and dress-making.

Beverley remained in this same job for about three years. She then married and moved to a New Town. There she managed to obtain a well-paid appointment as a 'clerk-typist', immediately. Unfortunately, she only kept the job for three weeks before being dismissed on the grounds that her work was of an insufficiently high standard. Her employer also told her that she had a 'geographical problem' (sic). Beverley thought the woman might have been referring to her religion (she was a Seventh Day Adventist) which meant that she could not play cards with the other girls at lunchtime and sometimes had to leave a little earlier on Friday evenings to avoid working after 'sunset'. Beverley was a bit baffled by her dismissal as she had been told by her immediate supervisor that her work was satisfactory, and Beverley also thought she had mixed-in with the other girls fairly well.

Since losing her last job she had been unemployed for over six months. She did not know what to do now. Jobs had become very difficult to find. She would be prepared to accept anything, providing it was reasonably paid. She had even applied for a job as a hospital orderly, but was having second thoughts about it, as the pay was abysmal.

Profile type II

Persons who were unable to get the work they wanted when leaving school, but who subsequently obtained jobs in their desired occupations, or in work of a similar kind. This type of job history was again especially characteristic of women (particularly West Indians), and Later Migrant men.

Case (i)

Ann was a white girl from a family of four children. Her father used to work as a butcher, but was now retired; her mother had a part-time job as a factory assembler. Ann's two elder brothers had left home and were both married and working in semi-skilled manual occupations. Her young brother was still at school.

Neither of the parents had attended an interview with the Careers Officer and they were unaware of what advice the officer had given to Ann. The father thought it was up to young people themselves to decide what kind of work they did. On the other hand, he was strongly in favour of a girl getting a good vocational training, even though he felt that the good jobs did not always go to those who were the best qualified to fill them.

Ann told the Careers Officer she was interested in 'secretarial work'. (Subsequently, she told us that it was her parents and her teacher who had encouraged her to take up this kind of work.) When she had finished her schooling, with five (rather poor grade) CSEs in Shorthand, Typing, English, Human Biology and Needlecraft, the CO gave her a list of seven suitable vacancies. She

never actually applied for any of these jobs as she said her shorthand speed was too low, and she fixed up her first job, as an 'office junior' through a private agency. She got the appointment before leaving school and started work as soon as the term finished, at the age of sixteen years.

When we called to see her, six months later, she was not very happy about her employment. She was mainly engaged on very routine clerical work, whereas she had hoped to be doing more typing. In addition, Ann felt that the people in charge treated her in a rather aloof manner. She was still hoping eventually to get a job as a shorthand/typist.

Ann remained in her first job for eight months. She said she was then made redundant, although the CO reckoned she lost the job because her work was below standard. After two weeks Ann got another job, through a private agency, as a copy typist. When we visited her again, a year later, she was very satisfied with her new employment: the people were nicer, she preferred the work and the money was better. She had now decided to give up the idea of shorthand/typing and to stick to her present job.

When we interviewed her again, after a further eighteen months, she was still working for the same employer, checking warranty claims and typing invoices. She was only fairly satisfied as she felt she was rather over-worked. There was also little or no chance of being promoted, although she did not think that this was very important.

At the end of the five years she was still in the same job, doing basically the same work as before, although she now had more responsibility. Again, she was a bit dissatisfied as she felt she deserved more pay for the amount of responsibility she carried.

Looking back over her career, she felt she would have liked to have been a shorthand/typist, but she had never had the opportunity to practice her shorthand, so that now she had forgotten all about it.

Case (ii)

Joan came from a family of seven children, of whom she was the second eldest. Her parents and five of the children had come to Britain (from St Christopher's Island) nine years earlier, when Joan was seven years old. The two youngest children had been born in Britain. Her mother worked part time as an office cleaner and the father did night work in a factory. Her elder sister had now left home and was working as a typist.

Although neither parent had attended an interview with the Careers Officer, the mother said she thought the Careers Office had been very helpful to their daughter. Joan's mother also thought it was very important for a girl to be well trained for work and believed that good qualifications were essential to get a worthwhile job.

Joan's teacher described her as very co-operative and the Careers Officer also commented upon her smart appearance and pleasant disposition. Joan told the CO she would like to be a shorthand/typist, so the CO recom-

mended that she look for work at a place where she could get Day Release to attend a course of further education, to study shorthand and improve her typing speed.

When she left school (at the age of sixteen) Joan had five CSEs (grades 3/4) in English, Mathematics, Typing, Domestic Science and Needlework. It took her a long time to get a job. She was unable to start seeking work until two weeks after leaving school, as she had to look after her younger brothers and sisters until her mother came back from a visit to the West Indies. Thereafter, she was continually in and out of the Careers Office for three months, being given vacancies to apply for, but failing to get them each time. During this period she also applied for other advertised vacancies and approached several employers direct, to ask if they had any jobs going. Eventually, three and a half months after leaving school, she secured a job (through the Careers Office) as an 'office junior', but without the Day Release that she had hoped for. However, when we interviewed her three months later she said that she was quite contented, and was going to remain in this job for the time being, to get more experience.

At our second visit, fifteen months later, Joan was still working for the same employer, but had now been promoted to typist/switchboard operator. She was pleased with her work, got on well with her colleagues and felt she was treated fairly by her supervisor. She was about to begin an evening course in shorthand.

She remained in the same employment for about two and a half years and then left to enter another job (obtained through a private agency) as a *shorthand*/typist. When we next interviewed her, soon afterwards, she was very happy with her new employment: she preferred the work, it was better paid and nearer to home, than her previous job. She had obtained her (Pitman's) shorthand certificate, at 70 wpm, and had been given Day Release to attend RSA courses to improve her shorthand and typing speeds, and to work for her Secretary's Certificate.

At our final interview, five years after Joan had left school, she was still employed by the same firm, as a shorthand/typist. She was now married. She had also completed and passed her two year RSA Secretarial course and obtained RSA certificates in English, Advanced Typing and Pitman's Shorthand (at 90 wpm). Having now become fully qualified for a secretarial appointment, she was currently looking around for a suitable vacancy.

Joan had no regrets about her career and reckoned that she had met with relatively little discrimination since leaving school.

Case (iii)

Errol, his sister and four brothers were all born in Jamaica and Errol came to Britain when he was fourteen. The sister, who was the eldest, had now left home, was married and worked as a machinist. Errol's two older brothers were still living at home, but were now in their early twenties: one was a car mechanic and the other an electrician. The two other boys were still at school. There

was no father in the household as the parents were divorced. The mother had been a teacher in Jamaica but now worked full time as a hospital orderly.

Errol's mother had not been to see the Careers Officer, but believed he had been quite helpful to her son. She had a high opinion of apprenticeships and would have liked Errol to train to be an electrician.

When Errol first saw the Careers Officer he said he would like to be a car mechanic or an electrician. The CO said he did not have sufficient qualifications at that stage and suggested he remained at school for a further year, which he did. Eventually, he left school, at eighteen, with six CSEs (grades 3 to 5), which included English, Mathematics, Engineering Studies and Technical Drawing. When he applied for three apprenticeships, during his last term at school, however, he was told he was too old. The CO also said that Errol probably made a poor impression on employers because he was rather slow to respond, appeared uncertain of himself, and had a strong West Indian accent which made his speech difficult to understand at times.

The CO then submitted Errol for a job as a trainee metal worker, but again he was turned down. Eventually he found a place for himself, doing electrical assembly work, a week after leaving school. He left this job after a month, however, as he did not like the large amount of overtime he was required to do. After this, the CO found him a job as a trainee sheet metal worker, which again he left after a month, complaining that the work was too heavy. Two weeks later, he got a third job, through the Careers Office, as a trainee paint sprayer, in a garage.

Our first interview with Errol took place about three months after he had started his third job. He was not very pleased with his work, mainly because it was so different from what he had really wanted to do.

At our next visit, just over a year later, Errol was still in the garage, but was hoping to leave it very shortly. He had given up attempting to get an apprenticeship and instead had taken an evening course in computer operating. He had now passed the final examination and was looking for a vacancy as a computer operator or programmer. Shortly after, the Computer Training Centre where he had taken his course found him a job as a trainee computer operator.

Eighteen months later, when we interviewed him again, he was fairly content with his work, although it appeared from his job description to be of a rather routine nature. His main complaint was that as a trainee his pay was low—although better than what he had been earning in his last job in the garage. He also much preferred the nature of his new employment and found his colleagues very friendly. Looking back over his career, he now thought it might have been better to have gone on to a College of Further Education, to improve on his qualifications before starting work. He also felt that one's employment prospects when leaving school were affected by how long you had lived in Britain: employers had always asked how long he had been here.

At our final interview, Errol still had the same job. He had completed his training and was now a junior computer operator. He was not fully satisfied with his employment as he thought the standard of training was not very good and also he felt he should have been promoted by now. But he was generally content with his occupation and did not regret having abandoned his original ambition to be an electrician or a car mechanic.

Profile type III

Persons whose final jobs were in different occupational groups from those which they had aspired to enter. This was most commonly the fate of men who had relatively few educational qualifications.

Case (i)

Michael, a white boy, was the youngest of a family of three children. Both the parents were semi-skilled manual workers. One daughter was a telegraphist and the other was training to be a nurse.

We interviewed the mother, as Michael's father said his wife had more to do with the children, than he did. Neither parent had seen the Careers Officer, although the mother believed he had been quite helpful to Michael. She was much in favour of apprenticeships. But she was not too sure that it was the best qualified people who got the good jobs, or who were promoted.

Michael told the Careers Officer he was interested in silk screen printing or car mechanics. The CO thought silk screen printing a rather odd choice, but considered his client might be suitable for general garage work. He noted that Michael tended to speak rather slowly and thought him to be of low intelligence.

Michael secured only one CSE pass (at grade 5), in Metalwork, before leaving school. During his final term the CO sent him for three garage jobs. He found that two had already been filled, and he was rejected for the third. He was then submitted for a vacancy in silk screen printing which, again, he did not get. After this, a week after leaving school, he found himself a job as a butcher's assistant. He left this after five months, and a week later got work (through the Careers Office) as a machine minder/trainee tool setter. When we first visited him, a month later, he told us that his current occupation was in fact the type of work he had really wanted to do when leaving school, but was not entirely satisfied with it as he had found it was rather dirty work. Nevertheless, he intended now to stay in this occupation; he found the work interesting, it was fairly well paid and he got on well with his workmates and supervisor.

A few months later he transferred to a similar job nearer to home. He said he preferred his new job, but complained that at times he found the work a bit boring. He got on well with the (four) West Indians and the Whites at work, but not so well with the Asians.

At the next interview, eighteen months later, we found he had again changed his job. He had left his previous employment because he wanted to try something

different. It took him seven weeks to find another job. The trouble, he said, was that there were so many boys, like himself, who were unsettled and looking for other work. Eventually, his brother-in-law found him his present job, as a metal shearer. The work entailed cutting sheet metal into strips. He was very satisfied with his new employment: it was much cleaner, the pay was good and he got on very well with his foreman and all his workmates. His only regret about his career so far was that he now wished he had stayed on at school to get a better education as, these days, to get a really skilled job you had to be well qualified.

After a few months he was dismissed from his job as a metal shearer, for bad time keeping and absenteeism, and was then unemployed for five months. He had been trying to get more skilled work, but had found that once you were over nineteen, employers regarded you as too old to start training. Finally, he asked his father to help him, and his dad got him a position at the place where he worked. He was now a plater, like his father. The job entailed dipping nuts and bolts into a sequence of vats. He was not very satisfied with the work as he found it boring and dirty, although it was quite well paid.

Case (ii)

Henry was born in Jamaica, but came to Britain with his mother when two months old. His sister and two brothers had been born in this country and were still at school. His father was in a semi-skilled manual job, on British Rail, and the mother worked full time as an assembler in a factory.

The father would have liked his son to train for a skilled manual trade, like car mechanic. He knew nothing about the interviews his son had had with the Careers Officer, although he knew Henry's school teacher had tried to help his son to get a job. He thought that young people ought to ask for advice before deciding what type of occupation to go for.

Henry's teacher considered him to be a bit lazy and a troublemaker. The Careers Officer rated him as below average in intelligence and rather surprisingly (considering that Henry had lived all his life in this country) the CO said he had a slight West Indian accent.

Henry left school (at Easter) when fifteen and a half years old, without having attempted any examinations. He had previously told the CO that he wanted to be a carpenter, preferably doing shop-fitting. The CO thought it doubtful if he would be accepted, without CSEs, to train as a shop fitter, but he might get taken on for training as a 'skilled woodworker'. The CO gave him details of three suitable vacancies which he applied for but failed to get. He also applied two or three times for training as a mechanic (an occupation which, he said, had been suggested to him by his teacher and parents), but again he was unsuccessful. Shortly before leaving school, his teacher asked if anyone was interested in a vacancy to train as a baker. He said all the other boys laughed at the idea, but as he had been unsuccessful in getting the job he wanted, he applied and got it.

Six months later, when we first visited him, Henry was not very satisfied with his job. It was in a small retail bakery where they made their own bread and cakes on the premises. He had been offered Day Release to train as a master baker, when the course began at the technical college in a few months time. He was not sure if he wanted to do this, however, as he was still intent on becoming a shop-fitter.

When we next interviewed him, fifteen months later, he had moved to work for another family bakery. He had been dismissed from the previous job because his employer said he could no longer afford to pay him. Henry said that he had since been told that it was their practice to sack people once they had been there a year or two, and had to pay them more; and then they took on another young lad. However, fortunately he saw this other job advertised in the shop window immediately after he was dismissed. He had now been attending a Day Release course in general bakery for some time. However, he was getting increasingly dissatisfied with the job. It was a family business, and when his employer's children came in to help he was invariably left to do all the hardest work. He had now given up looking for a job as a shop-fitter, and was trying to find a vacancy to train as a tool setter. Soon after, he got a job as a trainee metal spinner.

Henry then got married, but had difficulty finding somewhere suitable to live. Eventually he and his family were rehoused by the council in another area. But he then found it very difficult to get satisfactory employment. He could only get labouring jobs or shift work there, and after he had several changes of employment, the family finally succeeded in obtaining an exchange of council accommodation, and returned to their original locality. When we visited him, a week or two after his return, he had got a job as a wood machinist, at the same place where previously he was training to be a metal spinner. He did not like the work and wanted to get back to metal spinning.

At the final interview, two years later, he was unemployed. After a year and a half, he had left his job as a wood machinist (for reasons that were unclear) and had then been unemployed for four months. During this time he had applied for a government Rehabilitation Course. He had then found work, in the local council Social Services Department, as a storeman. After a few weeks, however, he had been offered a place on a full-time, six-month, government course, to train as a 'miller setter operator', which he had accepted. He had now been on the course for six weeks.

He now felt that, if possible, a young person should get a good education and only accept a job he was really interested in, when leaving school. Despite the problems he had sometimes experienced finding work, he did not feel that he had been affected by discriminatory recruiting practices. Neither did he think that the length of time you had lived in this country made any difference to your employment prospects.

Case (iii)

Desmond was born in Grenada and had been sent to Britain to join his mother and elder sister, when he was thirteen years old. The mother was a nurse. His sister had now left home and was employed as a bank clerk.

Since he had come to this country Desmond had apparently had some difficulty adjusting to life here. His mother complained that he got into bad company, would not attend to his school work and now that he had left school he was unable to settle into a job. There was no father in the household as his parents had separated. Desmond's mother had been twice to see the Careers Officer, when her son was still at school and again later after he had left. She thought the CO had done his best, but the man could not *make* her son stay in a job.

Desmond had told the CO he wanted to be a motor mechanic or an electrician, but the officer considered him to be unsuitable for either occupation, as his education was not good enough. The CO also thought his client to be rather unintelligent and 'slovenly'.

Shortly before he left school, aged sixteen, with three CSEs (grades 3 to 5) in Mathematics, Metalwork and Technical Drawing, Desmond got a job as a trainee panel beater, through the Careers Office. He lost this job, after only three days, for unpunctuality. (His mother said he just would not get up in the mornings.) Two weeks later the CO found him work as a trainee leather worker, from which he was dismissed after two weeks for working too slowly. He was then unemployed for two months. After repeated visits to the Careers Office he finally obtained employment as a van-boy, at a laundry. This he left of his own accord, after two weeks, complaining that the work was too hard. His next job, which he started a few days later, was as a trainee sheet metal worker. Once again, he was dismissed after a fortnight for bad time-keeping. Then, after two months, he obtained work, through the Careers Office, as a plumber's mate.

It took us some time to get to see Desmond, as he was never in when we called. When we finally interviewed him, he had been working as a plumber's mate for five months and seemed to be very satisfied with his employment. He said he really had no idea what to do when leaving school, but was hoping now to stay in his present occupation. He liked the work, he found his workmates very friendly and thought the pay was not too bad, although he did not get on so well with the foreman.

A year later, when we interviewed him a second time, he was still in the same job, and was still very pleased with his employment. He had no complaints of any kind and (now) thought that his supervisor generally treated him fairly.

Unfortunately, after working as a plumber's mate, for the same employer, for two years, he was made redundant when the firm closed down. For several months, thereafter, he was only able to obtain casual labouring work.

After having three such jobs, with periods of two or three weeks' unemployment between each, he was finally taken on as a trainee welder. He was only in this job for a few weeks, however, when he was offered a place on a six-month government course, to train as a plumber. He had applied for this several months earlier, when he had lost his job as a plumber's mate. He seized this opportunity, as his present job was only a temporary stop-gap and he wanted to return to plumbing. At our third interview with Desmond, three and a half years after he had left school, he had been on his course for three weeks. He was very glad to have got this opportunity to get properly trained, and wished now that he had gone to evening classes to study plumbing, earlier on.

At the final interview, two years later, Desmond was unemployed. When he had finished (and passed) his

training course, he had been unable to find work for nearly six months. Most of the other (white) people on his course had managed to fix up jobs before they left. He thought that a possible reason for his having more difficulty was that he was of small stature and employers might think he was not physically capable of doing the work. He eventually gave up trying for a plumbing job and took employment assembling aluminium windows. He then left this job to visit Grenada, to "*see if things were any brighter there*". They were not, so he had returned to Britain (after a month) and had been back here now for just over a week. His final comment was that he still wanted to be a plumber, and was determined to be, some day.

13 A résumé of the main findings, and recommendations

An important factor which contributed to the difficulties that young West Indians had finding suitable employment was that their abilities were consistently underrated at every stage of their transition from school to work. It started with the propensity of teachers to underestimate the academic capabilities of West Indians: the difference in the teachers' assessments of their white and West Indian pupils were particularly noticeable when they were dealing with recent immigrants. The Careers Officers' perceptions of the leavers' general intelligence displayed a similar and even stronger bias. There was some evidence (from the teachers' assessments of their pupils' personalities) that the Later Migrants' lower ability ratings might have been partly the result of a tendency for them to give the impression of being less socially mature. The Careers Officers' ratings of the West Indians' general intelligence and oral abilities appear also to have been influenced by difficulties in communication during interviews. When West Indians were said by their Careers Officers to speak with a strong West Indian intonation, they were much more likely to be assessed as having a lower standard of oral ability and an inferior intelligence, relative to Whites with a similar level of educational attainment.

The poor impression that Careers Officers were prone to form of the West Indians' abilities was also manifest in the officers' opinions of their clients' job suitability. The aspirations of more recent immigrants tended invariably to be judged with especial severity, as were those of the less qualified Early Migrants. The bias in the assessments of the job suitability of better qualified Early Migrants, however, was much less pronounced.

The predictive accuracy of the Careers Officers' assessments and the difficulties that West Indians subsequently experienced when seeking work strongly suggested that employers' assessments of the suitability of job applicants were affected by a similar ethnocentric bias. Early Migrants took over twice as long to find employment when leaving school, as did Whites of the same sex and educational level, living in the same locality; Later Migrants took three times as long. Also, despite making more applications for work than did Whites, the West Indians (especially if they were poorly qualified or recent immigrants) were generally less successful at getting the type of work they wanted, than were equivalent Whites. In London in particular, Whites were more likely to be accepted for upper non-manual vacancies, and although White and West Indian boys were equally successful in securing skilled manual jobs, the occupations entered by the West Indians tended to be of a lower standard and less likely to provide apprenticeship training.

One consequence of the difficulty they experienced in finding work was that although they explored all the avenues available to them at least as assiduously as did Whites, the West Indians had to rely much more on the Careers Service. This was particularly the case when jobs were harder to find and employers were able to be more selective, as in Birmingham.

It was found that many leavers were under-qualified for the jobs they wanted; this was particularly true of the less educated boys. West Indians were especially ambitious, though their high hopes were of little avail, as it was precisely when they aspired to jobs for which they were ill-qualified that they were at a particular disadvantage. In these circumstances, when an employer needed to make a personal judgement as to whether the applicant could do the job despite his or her dubious qualifications, it would appear that a White was much more likely to be favoured.

West Indians were further handicapped by less effective parental guidance. This was probably because their parents had less personal experience of the British labour market, and also because West Indian leavers were more likely than Whites to want to enter different occupations from those with which their parents were familiar. In consequence, West Indian parents required more professional advice about the job opportunities available to young people.

As is to be expected, the leavers who got the jobs they had been seeking generally had a higher opinion of most aspects of their work, although the West Indians tended to be less content than Whites about their pay, job security and relationships with supervisors and fellow workers. Job satisfaction amongst the Early Migrants fell sharply, however, as their educational standards declined, whereas the poorly qualified Whites were often as satisfied with their jobs as were better educated leavers. This was mainly because the jobs of the less qualified Early Migrants were frequently inferior to those obtained by equivalent Whites, but also because the latter appear to have been more readily contented with relatively unskilled work. Later Migrants of all educational levels had an especially low opinion of their employment.

Many leavers who had failed to get the particular jobs they had first sought after had subsequently reconciled themselves to remaining in different occupations of a similar type. West Indians, however, tended to adhere more tenaciously to their original aims. This was again partly due to the greater reluctance of West Indians to accept low grade jobs, and partly because when they had failed to get the jobs they wanted the West Indians were less likely, than were Whites, to gain entry to suitable alternative occupations. In consequence, the West

Indians were far more unsettled. Six months after leaving school approximately a half of the West Indians were seeking to change their jobs, as compared to just over a quarter of the Whites. Most were hoping eventually to obtain work of a higher academic level, although many of them were ill-qualified for the jobs they sought.

During the ensuing five year many people changed their jobs several times. There were two distinct phases to job mobility. During the initial phase, which lasted for about three years, there was a great deal of movement (especially amongst the less qualified) as people who were dissatisfied with the employment they had first secured on leaving school sought jobs that were more to their liking. Thereafter, the rate of job changing declined to an average frequency equivalent to about one job change every three to four years. The rapid fall in job mobility during this latter period was probably accentuated by the increasing scarcity of job vacancies resulting from the approaching economic recession.

Although when they left school the West Indians in particular made extensive use of the Careers Service to obtain their first jobs, subsequently, when seeking fresh employment, an increasing proportion found work through non-official channels: the two sources of employment which were of greatest importance in later years being advertisements and personal contacts. However, although during the final period of the survey relatively few jobs were obtained through official agencies it is noteworthy that at all stages the West Indians continued to rely upon their services to a greater degree than did Whites.

The difficulties that West Indians had finding work led them to have much longer periods of unemployment; this was particularly so amongst those who were ill-qualified. Also, as the recession began to strike the labour market (during the last two years of the survey) the West Indians were affected with especial severity. As many as a quarter of the Early Migrants in the bottom educational stratum were out of work at the final interview, as compared to one in ten of the equivalent Whites. In addition, people's vulnerability to unemployment was much affected by how often they changed jobs. As they had tended to get inferior employment when they first left school, the less qualified West Indians in particular, had greater reason to wish to change their occupations, albeit at the cost of further unemployment. There was also an association (especially amongst the Whites) between the frequency of job changing and the successfulness of people's careers.

Although one job change was often beneficial, thereafter, the more often people moved the more likely they were to find themselves in work of an inferior standard, increasingly distant from the type of occupation which they had originally wanted. Job changing was less deleterious to the careers of West Indians, largely because the employment they first acquired was often of a relatively low grade and they therefore had less to lose by changing it.

One of the most common reasons for people having very

unsettled careers (and long periods of unemployment) was that they had difficulty obtaining satisfying employment) because of the inadequacy of their qualifications. This was especially pertinent to West Indians as they needed to be well qualified if they were to stand a reasonable chance of securing the work they wanted.

Nevertheless, as a result of their persistent endeavours to obtain better jobs, there was a gradual improvement in the general nature of the West Indians' employment over the years. This mainly took the form of a movement out of lower manual/non-manual occupations into higher non-manual work. This rise in the general standard of jobs was particularly pronounced amongst the West Indian women. In contrast, the occupational distribution of the white women remained relatively constant, whilst some of the white men moved *downwards* from higher non-manual and skilled manual work into lower grade occupations.

As a consequence of these changes the women's groups had ended up with broadly similar occupational distributions, thereby correcting the unfavourable position of the West Indian women, relative to Whites, when they first left school. Whilst the West Indian men at the end of the five years, tended to be in jobs that were ostensibly *better* than those occupied by their white counterparts.

The largest improvements in the fortunes of the West Indians were amongst those who had been most disadvantaged on first entering the labour market: the Later Migrant women and the least qualified Early Migrants.

On closer examination, however, it was found that the job classifications tended to give a spuriously favourable view of the quality of the jobs secured by West Indians. We observed earlier how, when they first started work, the skilled manual occupations of the West Indian men tended to be of a lower academic standard than those of Whites. In relation to 'white collar' occupations, on the other hand, although Whites apparently found it easier to procure such jobs, the junior non-manual vacancies secured by the West Indians were of a standard very close to that of the Whites'. Over the subsequent five years, however, as a result of Whites moving out from less attractive junior non-manual jobs (into semi-skilled manual employment) the general standard of the remaining junior non-manual jobs held by Whites rose considerably, whereas the West Indians' improved very little. Consequently, the final jobs of West Indians in junior non-manual occupations tended to be of a lower academic level than those of the Whites—as indeed had always been the case in skilled manual employment.

Hence, it transpires that whereas it had initially appeared (from the occupational classification of their work) that the West Indian men had eventually secured *better* jobs than their white counterparts, in practice their occupations proved to be of an almost identical academic standard. Whilst amongst women, although they had all improved their position over time, we found that the inter-group differences evident when they first left school

(with Later Migrants in the least favourable position and Whites the most favoured) had, in fact, persisted upto the final interview.

As they grew older and more concerned with matters like their job security and promotion prospects, both the Whites and the West Indians became much more critical of their employment. Their job assessments confirmed, nevertheless, that there was a marked improvement in the general suitability of the West Indians' jobs in later years, particularly amongst the Early Migrants. But although their situation was generally better than when they first left school, the West Indians still did not like their work quite as much as did Whites, and they also continued to be less content with their pay, job security and promotion prospects than Whites who were in similar occupations.

It was also found that the West Indian women sometimes had greater difficulty getting on with their companions at work, than did Whites. This appeared to be because they tended to be slightly less at ease when there were no other West Indians at their workplaces. But whilst most West Indians liked to have the companionship of other West Indians at work, only a negligible number said that they would prefer to be in a group consisting only of West Indians; they were generally happiest when working in the company of a mixture of people, consisting of both Whites and West Indians.

As a consequence of the West Indians' preference for certain types of occupation, their tendency to get many of their jobs through personal contacts, and the operation of selective recruiting practices, when they left school a large proportion of the West Indians had in fact obtained work in places where other West Indians were already employed. Furthermore, as time progressed, an increasing number of people were introduced to new jobs through their relatives, with the result that the proportion of West Indians finding their way into places where they were in the company of other West Indians steadily rose.

Most Whites, on the other hand, worked only in the company of Whites. Even when they did have West Indians and Asians in their workgroups, the Whites were almost invariably in the majority. In practice, therefore, it was found that the Whites generally got on just as well in an ethnically mixed workgroup, as when their colleagues were all Whites.

Although most West Indians got on with their fellow employees reasonably well and formed friendships at work just as readily as did Whites, the West Indians tended to be less keen, than were Whites, about attending social and sports clubs at their places of employment. The West Indians preferred instead to go to clubs elsewhere. The West Indian women also tended to be less interested in joining trade unions. This could be partly because West Indian trade unionists sometimes felt that their unions did not do enough to protect the interests of their West Indian members.

Despite all the difficulties they had experienced in securing satisfying jobs, the West Indians remained very

keen to have successful careers. This was particularly the case with the women. Thus, whereas, when they first left school, the white women had been inclined to regard a happy home life as being at least as important as a successful career, in contrast, the West Indian women (in common with the white and West Indian men) tended to give precedence to their careers. West Indians of both sexes also place more emphasis upon having jobs of which they could be proud. Moreover, it was found that after they had had some experience of employment the better qualified West Indians were much more confident, than were their parents, that their abilities and qualifications would eventually be well rewarded. Less qualified West Indians, however, although less pessimistic than their parents, still felt that their employment prospects were limited, by comparison with the views of Whites of a similar educational level.

The West Indians' strong desire to do well in their employment was further exemplified by their greater willingness to move elsewhere, if this would assist them to get (better) jobs, and also by their outstanding enthusiasm for part-time further education. From the time they left school, the West Indians (particularly the women) showed themselves to be exceptionally keen to gain good vocational qualifications, and the West Indian rate of attendance on courses of part-time further education was consistently higher than that of Whites, throughout the five years. But because of the limited availability of Day Release (particularly in the occupations most often entered by women) many of the West Indians had to pursue their studies independently, in the evenings. The successfulness of people's endeavours to gain further qualifications through part-time study varied considerably, however: men fared better than women; Whites were more successful than West Indians; and people who left school with a relatively good basic education did better than the less educated. In every instance, it was found that the variation in success rates was closely linked with access to Day Release: the group having the higher level of attendance by Day Release being invariably the more successful. An important consequence of the difficulties that people had obtaining further qualifications solely through evening classes was that, despite the West Indians' much greater willingness to try to get better qualifications this way, their efforts often proved to be fruitless.

In both London and Birmingham, nearly two thirds of the West Indians felt that they had experienced some discrimination in connection with their employment, during the five years since they had left school. At the beginning of the survey, when job vacancies were relatively plentiful, the better qualified Early Migrants were much less affected by discriminatory recruiting practices (as compared with less qualified Early Migrants and more recent immigrants) but during later years, when the general level of unemployment rose and job competition became more intense in Birmingham, even the better qualified Early Migrants were beginning to feel themselves to be at a serious disadvantage. In London, where the recession had had a lesser effect on the labour market, the balance of opinion suggested that there had been relatively little

change in the general prevalence of discrimination over the five years.

Although many informants also reported having been badly treated in other situations (especially in their contacts with the police) it was in relation to their employment that discrimination against West Indians was said to have been encountered most frequently.

Three out of view of the West Indians who felt that they had been affected by discrimination in employment believed there was nothing more that the government could do to eradicate the problem. The others mostly advocated a more rigorous implementation of existing race relation legislation, or more vigorous efforts to encourage employers to recruit West Indians.

Conclusions

The main purpose of this study was, originally, to try to determine whether the employment problems that West Indian school leavers were reported to have been experiencing at the time our enquiry was first mounted, were largely restricted to those who were newcomers to Britain, or whether similar difficulties were likely to be encountered by all young people of West Indian descent, regardless of how long they had lived here. The 'Later Migrant' school leaver is now largely an historical figure: most current school leavers have backgrounds which correspond to those of our 'Early Migrants'. The experiences of our sample of Later Migrants, however, have proved to be a considerable aid to understanding some of the factors which produce the ethnocentric bias which affects the assessment of West Indians' capabilities and job suitability. We have found that a greater degree of acculturation did indeed help to improve the West Indians' chances of securing satisfactory employment, but that much also depended on the adequacy of their education.

Providing they left school with good qualifications, the job suitability of West Indians who had lived in Britain for all or most of their lives was assessed fairly objectively by Careers Officers, but the assessments of less educated Early Migrants (like those of all recent immigrants) tended to be very subjective and prone to be affected by an ethnocentric bias. The better educated Early Migrants were also quite successful in gaining entry to their desired occupations when they first left school; their opportunities being enhanced by the fact that they were generally well qualified for the jobs they were seeking to enter. This was particularly advantageous at the time because, in the period when our informants were leaving school, job vacancies were plentiful and many employers were having to accept inadequately qualified applicants. In these circumstances any well qualified leaver stood a good chance of getting the job he or she wanted. The relative ease with which better educated Early Migrants were able to secure suitable employment, on first leaving school, was therefore probably in part an artifact of a lack of competition resulting from the current shortage of adequately qualified job applicants. Whereas, because a large proportion of the less educated leavers (both Whites and West Indians) were trying to enter occupations for which they were underqualified, the West Indians with a

low standard of education immediately found themselves in a highly competitive situation in which they were placed at a considerable disadvantage because of discriminatory recruiting practices. The comparison of the experiences of West Indians in London and Birmingham, on first leaving school, also suggests that the intensity with which West Indians were affected by discrimination was in part a function of the tightness of the labour market.

The West Indians' experiences over the years that followed show that, as a result of their persistent endeavours, there was a gradual improvement in the quality of their jobs, but that their progress was then severely checked by the worsening economic situation. Thereafter, levels of unemployment amongst the less qualified West Indians in particular began to rise very sharply. In addition, in the resulting competition for vacancies, even the better qualified West Indians were beginning to feel increasingly threatened by discriminatory practices. These subsequent events again imply that the greater the competition for jobs, the worse the West Indians were affected by a tendency for prospective employers to favour White applicants.

Despite these difficulties, the West Indians remained very determined to try to have successful careers. This is illustrated by their general attitudes to work; their enthusiasm for part-time further education; their willingness to move elsewhere, if it would help them to advance their careers; and the optimism, particularly of the better qualified Early Migrants, that their abilities and qualifications would eventually be rewarded, in contrast to the pessimistic outlooks of their parents.

Apart from trying to ensure they got as good an education as possible *before* they left school, there appears to be little more that the West Indians themselves could have done to improve their position. The onus for remedying the inequalities of opportunity which West Indians suffer in employment must, therefore, largely rest with employers and those who are professionally responsible for assessing and counselling school leavers. There is clearly a considerable need to monitor recruitment and promotion practices. However, it would appear that ethnocentric bias is by no means confined to employers. It is particularly disturbing that teachers and especially Careers Officers also tended to underestimate the capabilities of West Indians. This would suggest that there is widespread tendency amongst Whites to underestimate the abilities of West Indians, which even professional training fails to eliminate. Further evidence that this is so, is to be found in a number of studies which strongly suggest that the tendency to underestimate the capabilities and job suitability of young West Indians also extends to the training schemes conducted under the auspices of the Manpower Services Commission. When the current Youth Training Scheme was initiated (in 1983) it was recognised, in the light of earlier experiences on the YOP scheme^{1,2}, that a special endeavour would have to be made to try to ensure equality of opportunity on the new scheme, for young people from ethnic minorities³. As part of this policy, the MSC commissioned a special research

project to monitor how successfully the YTS had been in fulfilling this objective. In the subsequent report, however, the authors noted that: "in several key aspects, the take-up and allocation processes in YTS have produced patterns similar to those under YOP"⁴.

The tendency for Whites to appear often to misjudge the capabilities of West Indians is a topic which needs further and more intensive investigation. It is also clearly important that very effort should be made to render job suitability assessments and selection procedures as objective as possible, by codifying in detail the criteria upon which suitability is to be determined, to minimise as far as possible the scope for subjective bias on the part of the assessor.

A no less important issue is the under-achievement of West Indians in school. Shortly before this report went to press, the very comprehensive, final report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups was published. This has confirmed yet again that West Indian children are particularly disadvantaged in their education. As the report states: "There is no doubt the West Indian children, as a group, and on average, are underachieving, both by comparison with their school fellows in the White majority, as well as in terms of their potential . . ."⁵ In the committee's view one of the reasons for West Indians failing to fulfil their academic potential relates to the well-established link between socio-economic factors and school performance. In the words of their report: "... members of the ethnic minorities suffer from the extra element of social and economic deprivation, over and above that of the White majority - due . . . mainly to prejudice and discrimination in the employment and housing markets . . . It is hardly surprising, therefore, that ethnic minority children may

underachieve by comparison with their White school fellows"⁶.

As we have shown, the consequences of this tendency for West Indian children to be particularly prone to underachieve at school are further accentuated in the labour market by the added handicap from which less qualified West Indians suffer when applying for jobs. It is especially important for West Indians to be adequately qualified, if they are to secure jobs that are commensurate with their capabilities. The combination of a tendency for West Indians to leave school with a low standard of education, with an employment market which tends to discriminate especially severely against West Indians who are ill-qualified, is clearly a disturbing situation.

Unless the under-achievement of West Indians in school, and discriminatory selection/recruiting practices in the labour market (and on MSC training schemes) can be reduced, many West Indians will undoubtedly continue to be relegated to the role of a secondary labour force that is assigned to lower grade occupations and subject to exceptionally high levels of unemployment whenever, as at the present time, there is acute competition for jobs.

References

- ¹ Bedeman, T and Courtney, One in three: the second National Survey of Young People on YOP. MSC, 1983.
- ² Cross, M et al. *Ethnic minorities: their experiences of YOP*. MSC, 1983.
- ³ Commission for Racial Equality. *Equal opportunity and the Youth Training Scheme*. CRE, 1983.
- ⁴ Fenton, S et al. *Ethnic minorities and the Youth Training Scheme*. Research and Development No. 2. MSC, 1984, page 37.
- ⁵ Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. *Education for all*. Cmnd 9453. HMSO, 1985, para 5.1, page 81.
- ⁶ *ibid.* para 5.3, page 82.

Appendix I Ethnicity-of-interviewer effects

In Volume 1 we reported that excepting mainly for questions relating to the general prevalence of discriminatory recruiting practices and to the adequacy of the COs' endeavours to assist West Indians when they had difficulty getting jobs because of discrimination, the interviewer's ethnicity appeared to have had little effect on the answers given by our West Indian informants (see Volume 1, Appendix IV). In the follow-up interviews, when many more questions on sensitive topics were asked (especially in the final interview), we again found relatively little evidence of interviewer bias; and in the few instances when it did occur the divergences in the answers were seldom very substantial.

At the second interview, questions about the informants' relationships with fellow workers and supervisors failed to show any detectable bias. More surprisingly, perhaps, the interviewer's ethnicity had only a very marginal influence when informants were asked whether they preferred to work with Whites or West Indians (see Chapter 10).

An examination of the data from the third interview again failed to uncover any indication of a substantial ethnicity-of-interviewer effect, despite the large number of attitudinal questions which were asked at this stage. One of the reasons may be that much of the attitudinal data on this occasion was collected through self-completion questionnaires. Of the questions that were asked orally, although there were some instances where the answers showed slight indications of interviewer bias, in none was it sufficiently large to have more than a very slight effect on the inter-group comparisons featured in the main body of the report. Thus, there was a slight tendency for both Early and Later Migrants who were interviewed by Whites to be more likely to say that they thought that a leaver's employment prospects could be affected by the length of time the person had resided in Britain (see Chapter 11). Similarly, as we found with their parents at the first interview, leavers who were interviewed by West Indians tended to have slightly lower scores on the 'reward for merit' index (see Chapter 8 and Volume 1, Chapter 4).

In the fourth interview, however, there was rather more to report. When asked, for instance, whether there were any methods of finding work that they would prefer to avoid when seeking a (new) job, because of discriminatory practices, both Early and Later Migrants were more likely to say that there were if the interviews were conducted by West Indians (see Table I.1). But it was only in relation to the frequency with which direct application to an employer (to ask if he had any vacancies) was cited that there were large and consistent differences. When the

question was posed by a West Indian interviewer 41%–42% of the leavers mentioned this method as one which was best avoided, as compared to 33% of the Early Migrants and 22% of the Later Migrants when they were interviewed by Whites. Later Migrants (but not Early Migrants) were also more likely to say to a West Indian interviewer that they would generally prefer not to telephone in an answer to an advertisement. The answers to this question are discussed in detail in the main body of the report (see Chapter 6); it is sufficient to observe here that the differences in response associated with the ethnicity of the interviewer have only a marginal effect on the interpretation of the data. Regardless of whether the interviewer was white or West Indian, direct application to an employer was invariably the method that leavers were most likely to say should be avoided, followed by telephoning in response to an advertisement. The main effect when the interview was conducted by a West Indian was that additional emphasis was given to these two methods as being the ones leavers thought were most likely to carry a danger of discrimination.

Table I.2 bears out our earlier finding that the ethnicity of the interviewer had a relatively small influence on the leavers' propensity to state that they believed they had been personally affected by discriminatory practices in employment (see Volume 1, Appendix IV, Table IV.2). The table shows that generally the leavers were unlikely to say they had experienced 'a lot' of discrimination over the previous five years, but that 11% of the Later Migrants said this when interviewed by a West Indian, as compared with none when the interviewer was white. On the other hand, the proportions of Later Migrants who declared that they had not been affected at all by discriminatory practices in employment, from the time they first left school, was the same (47%) regardless of who interviewed them. A similar trend is discernible among the Early Migrants, except that the divergence in the pattern of their answers took on a different form. Thus, whereas the proportions of Early Migrants who claimed to have encountered 'a lot' of discrimination were similar (7%–8%) whether the interviewer was white or West Indian, those who were interviewed by Whites were slightly more likely to declare that they had never experienced any discrimination: 42%, compared to 36% of Early Migrants who had West Indian interviewers.

Leavers who said they had experienced 'a lot' or 'a little' discrimination were then asked whether, so far as they could tell, discrimination against West Indians, in relation to employment, had 'become less, remained about the same, or got worse', over the previous five years. Table I.3 shows that many considered that discrimination had grown more prevalent, but that

people were slightly more prone to assert that this was so when they were interviewed by West Indians. When their interviewers were white both Early and Later Migrants were more likely to say it had decreased and less likely to declare it had remained about the same or got worse. However, when leavers were then asked if they had changed their personal views about discrimination (in any other way) since leaving school, although many asserted that they had, and frequently toward becoming more 'colour conscious' (see Chapter 11), the ethnicity of their interviewers appeared not to have any effect on the leavers' answers. We also asked several questions about the situations in which the leavers had experience of discriminatory treatment, both in employment and elsewhere, but none of them produced any further evidence of a consistent or noteworthy interviewer bias.

The only other instance, at the fourth interview, where the interviewer's ethnicity appeared to have an appreciable influence on the responses to a question was when leavers were asked whether they thought the Government could do more to help stop discrimination against West Indians, in relation to employment. Once again, the question was only asked of those who said they had some personal

experience of discrimination. Table 1.4 shows that when they were interviewed by West Indians, the Early Migrants in particular were more likely to say that they thought the Government could do more to prevent its occurrence; that is 24% of the Early Migrants and 19% of the Later Migrants who were interviewed by West Indians, as compared with 12% and 13%, respectively, of those whose interviewers were white. It will be recalled that a similar divergence occurred at the first interview, when leavers were asked whether they thought that Careers Officers could do more to help West Indians when they met with discriminatory practices amongst employers (see Volume 1, Appendix IV). We conjectured on the earlier occasion that the difference could then have been partly because our informants might have been more prone to think that a White interviewer was personally connected with the Careers Service. It is possible that when asked whether they thought the Government could do more to help West Indians, our informants might again have been reticent about saying things that could be construed as critical of government officials, when the interviewer was herself one – and particularly if the interviewer was white.

Table 1.1 Effects of ethnicity of interviewer on leavers' views about job-seeking methods that were best avoided because of discriminatory practices

	Early Migrants		Later Migrants	
	White interviewers	West Indian interviewers	White interviewers	West Indian interviewers
	%	%	%	%
To avoid discrimination, thought it best <i>not</i> to seek for jobs ...				
... through an Employment Office	6	4	4	—
... through a private employment agency	13	8	9	11
... by answering an advertisement:				
in writing	12	12	13	8
by telephone	22	19	19	28
... by applying directly to employers, to ask if they have any vacancies	33	41	22	42
... by soliciting the help of a friend or relative	3	3	2	—
Did not think there were any particular ways where discrimination more likely to occur	37	30	41	28
Other answers	3	5	5	8
No answer	1	—	5	8
<i>Base (all West Indian leavers at 4th interview)</i>	<i>144</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>36</i>

NB Columns add to more than 100% because many informants cited more than one method to be avoided.

Table 1.2 Effects of ethnicity of interviewer on leavers' opinions about how much discrimination they had personally encountered in employment, over the previous five years

	Early Migrants		Later Migrants	
	White interviewers	West Indian interviewers	White interviewers	West Indian interviewers
	%	%	%	%
A lot	7	8	—	11
Only a little	48	55	51	42
None	42	36	47	47
Other answer	1	1	2	—
No answer	2	—	—	—
<i>Base (all West Indian leavers at 4th interview)</i>	<i>144</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>36</i>

Table 1.3 Effects of ethnicity of interviewer on leavers' opinions about whether there had been a change in the general prevalence of discrimination in employment, over the previous five years

	Early Migrants		Later Migrants	
	White interviewers	West Indian interviewers	White interviewers	West Indian interviewers
	%	%	%	%
Leaver had personal experience of discrimination in employment and thought that over the last five years it had generally ...				
... got worse	22	25	22	25
... remained about the same	15	26	13	19
... decreased	13	8	9	6
... did not know if there had been a change in its general prevalence	6	4	4	—
Leaver had never experienced any discrimination in employment	42	36	47	47
Other answers	2	1	5	3
<i>Base (all West Indian leavers at 4th interview)</i>	<i>144</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>36</i>

Table 1.4 Effects of ethnicity of interviewer on leavers' opinions about whether the Government could do more to stop discrimination in employment

	Early Migrants		Later Migrants	
	White interviewers	West Indian interviewers	White interviewers	West Indian interviewers
	%	%	%	%
Leaver had personal experience of discrimination in employment and thought that the Government ...				
... should do more to prevent it	12	24	13	19
... could <i>not</i> do more to prevent it	42	33	26	31
Leaver had never experienced any discrimination in employment	42	36	47	47
Other answers	1	3	7	—
Don't know	3	4	6	3
No answer	1	—	1	—
<i>Base (all West Indian leavers at 4th interview)</i>	<i>144</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>36</i>

Appendix II Response rates and the effects of sample attrition

In Chapter 2 we discussed the methodological problems to which sample attrition over the follow-up stages could give rise, and the means which were adopted to mitigate the possible effects of changes in the composition of the analysis samples over time. In this appendix, after explaining the methods used to maintain contact with informants, and examining the response at each follow-up stage, we shall look at the manner and the extent to which the characteristics of the residual analysis samples were affected by losses during fieldwork.

Methods used to trace address changes

Throughout the whole period of fieldwork individual records were kept of each leaver's changes of address, and any other information which might be useful in helping to trace the person in the event of our losing track of the informant at a later stage.

At every interview we ensured that each leaver had a reply-paid card with which to notify us of any change of address. Unfortunately, these cards were soon mislaid or forgotten about and were little used. We therefore took the added precaution of checking on address changes between interviews, by writing to each leaver asking the person to confirm his or her current address. About two thirds regularly responded. When they did not answer, an interviewer called to check whether the informant was still there and if not, she tried to discover where the person had moved to. In addition, signed Christmas Cards were mailed to every leaver, each year and if any of these were returned by the Post Office, because the addressees had moved, interviewers were sent once again to try to trace the new addresses. By these means we ensured that each leaver's address was checked every six months, between interviews. This reduced the time and effort required to trace the leavers at each interview stage and was particularly useful during the later stages of fieldwork when the interval between interviews extended to as much as two years. It also ensured that we were less likely to lose contact with those informants who changed address frequently, of whom there were many in the West Indian samples*. Even so, our field staff still often had difficulty tracing informants for interview. We then checked the elusive individual's file for any contacts who might be able to furnish further information about the person's current whereabouts. As many West Indians in particular continued to use the Careers Service to help them find jobs, long after they had left school, we found that in the first year or two of the survey the Careers Officers also could often be very helpful in providing the current addresses of young people who had moved. On other occasions the Housing Departments of local authorities were called upon for assistance; and in a few instances, when all other methods had failed, if the person had a job

at the last interview we tried to reach the person directly by telephone, at his or her place of employment. As we did not wish an employer to be aware that his employee was taking part in the survey, lest it influence his behaviour toward the person concerned, and also because it would have constituted a breach of confidentiality, when telephoning to a place of employment we did not reveal our identity or the purpose of the call to anyone apart from the person we were trying to contact.

Losses from the sample

By these means we were able to keep 'non-contacts' to a minimum. Nothing could be done, of course, when the person wished no longer to take part in the survey. Fortunately, losses of the latter type were relatively infrequent, considering the demands we made upon our informants; which is a considerable compliment to the skill of the interviewers and the tolerance of the leavers.

The last category of sample losses are those who became 'ineligible' to continue in the survey because they had emigrated (mostly to the USA and Canada), enlisted in the Armed Forces, enrolled in full-time courses of education, received lengthy prison sentences, or died; or when female informants decided to withdraw from paid employment after marriage and motherhood. These persons were only dropped from our follow-up samples if there was no likelihood of their returning to full-time paid employment during the remaining period of the survey. Thus, if a female informant had given up her job because of pregnancy, but intended (or said she might be) seeking work again later, she was retained in the follow-up sample. However, if as was often the case, it transpired that she never in fact sought paid employment again during the remainder of the survey period, she was excluded from the analysis as from the time she first gave up her job.

Response rates

Table II.1 shows the response achieved at each of the follow-up interviews. For this purpose we have combined

* We observed earlier (in Volume 1) that West Indians were twice as likely as Whites to have changed address within two years of leaving school: 42% compared with 21% of Whites. This higher mobility rate of West Indians continued throughout the survey. Thus, by the end of the survey period it was found that the proportions who had moved had risen to 73% amongst West Indians, compared to only 55% amongst Whites. This was partly because West Indians tended to leave their parental homes slightly earlier than did Whites. Thus, amongst those who were retained in our samples to the end of the survey period, it was found that by the time of the final interview 42% of the West Indians were no longer living with their parents, compared to 34% of Whites. Moreover, West Indians tended to stay at their new addresses for a shorter time than Whites. Amongst those who remained in the samples until the end of the survey period, 20% of the West Indian movers had had at least three changes of address over the five years, compared to only 8% of the Whites.

Table II.1 Response at follow-up stages by ethnicity of interviewer

	West Indians						Whites	
	West Indian interviewers' quota		Whites interviewers' quota		Both quotas combined		Number	Per cent
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		
Set sample for follow-up*	218		302		520		463	
<i>Address checks between 1st and 2nd interviews</i>								
Non-contacts	4		2		6		6	
Refusals	1		1		2		2	
Ineligibles	2		2		4		4	
Set sample for 2nd interview	211	100	297	100	508	100	451	100
Non-contacts	18	8	10	3	28	6	9	2
Refusals	8	4	6	2	14	3	13	3
Ineligibles	4	2	7	2	11	2	10	2
Interviewed	181	86	274	92	455	90	419	93
<i>Address checks between 2nd and 3rd interviews</i>								
Non-contacts	3		2		5		1	
Refusals	1		3		4		3	
Ineligibles	1		2		3		6	
Set sample for 3rd interview	176	100	267	100	443	100	409	100
Non-contacts	6	3	8	3	14	3	6	1
Refusals	8	4	6	2	14	3	14	3
Ineligibles	2	1	10	4	12	3	21	5
Interviewed	160	91	243	91	403	91	368	90
<i>Address checks between 3rd and 4th interviews</i>								
Non-contacts	2		3		5		1	
Refusals	—		—		—		4	
Ineligibles	3		2		5		12	
Set sample for 4th interview	155	100	238	100	393	100	351	100
Non-contacts	13	8	12	5	25	6	10	3
Refusals	8	5	3	1	11	3	4	1
Ineligibles	2	1	7	3	9	2	13	4
Interviewed	132	86	216	91	348	88	324	92

* See Volume 1, Appendix II, Table II.1.

the West Indian samples, as the response from the Early and Later Migrants was very similar. Also, unlike in the response table for the first interview presented in the first volume of the report (see Volume 1, Appendix II, Table II.1), we have not distinguished between the Year 1 and the Year 2 samples. It was necessary to show the response achieved in each Sample Year separately in relation to the first interview, because they differed markedly as a consequence of our having very inexperienced West Indian interviewers for the Year 1 sample – this being the first fieldwork they undertook. Subsequently, as the West Indian interviewers gained in experience, the response rates for the Year 1 and Year 2 samples converged, so that it is no longer worthwhile distinguishing them. However, as the West Indian interviewers' overall response rates continued to be slightly lower than the Whites' we have found it necessary to show the response achieved by each type of interviewer separately.

The presentation of the data is complicated by the losses at address checks between interviews and by the presence of 'ineligible' persons who were not interviewed because they had withdrawn from the workforce for various reasons (see Table II.3). If we disregard the address-check losses, but include the 'ineligibles' in the set sample for each interviewer stage, the table shows that the proportions of West Indians whom we succeeded in interviewing in the follow-up stages ranged from 86% to 91% in the West Indian interviewers' quota, and from 91% to 92% in the white interviewers' quota. The corresponding response rates amongst the White leavers ranged from

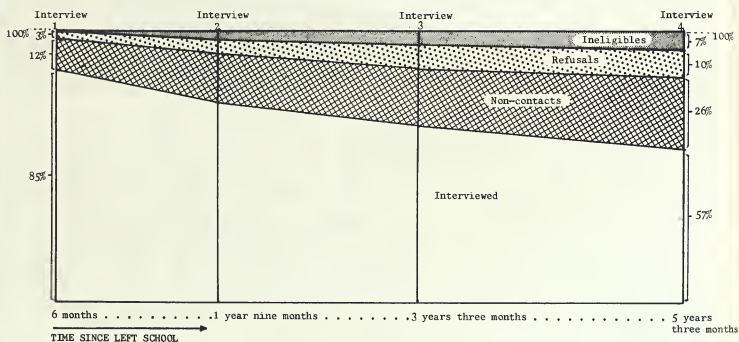
90% to 93%. If the response rates are recalculated to include the address-check losses, the proportions of West Indians interviewed at each stage fall to 83%–90% and 89%–91%, in the West Indian and white interviewers' quotas, respectively, and to 88%–90% amongst the White leavers.

Figure II.1 shows how the cumulated losses over the full term of the survey from the combined West Indian and white interviewers' quotas of West Indian leavers (expressed as a proportion of the set sample for the first interview) compare with the corresponding losses from the white leavers' sample. The figure shows that 57% of the West Indians and 63% of the Whites in the original set samples were successfully interviewed on four consecutive occasions. Or, alternatively, that out of those whom we succeeded in interviewing at the first stage, 67% of the West Indians ($\frac{57}{85} \times 100$) and 70% ($\frac{63}{90} \times 100$) of the Whites were retained in the samples for the following three interviews.

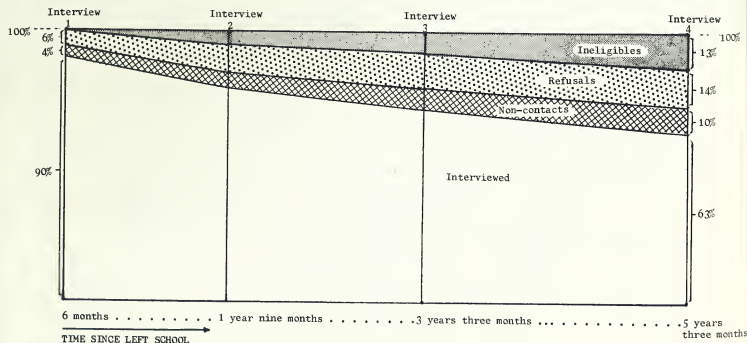
Figure II.2 contrasts the cumulated losses of West Indian leavers in the white and West Indian interviewers' quotas. It will be observed that total losses amongst West Indian leavers in the white interviewers' quota were almost identical to those in the white leavers' sample, shown in Figure II.1. This demonstrates that the difference between the response rates in the West Indian and white leavers' samples, as portrayed in Figure II.1, is entirely attributable to the particularly high losses in the West Indian interviewers' quota.

**Figure 11.1 Cumulated losses over all interview stages
by ethnicity of leaver**

West Indians



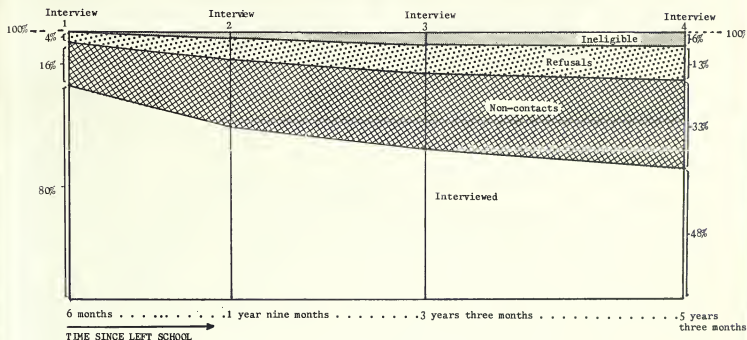
Whites



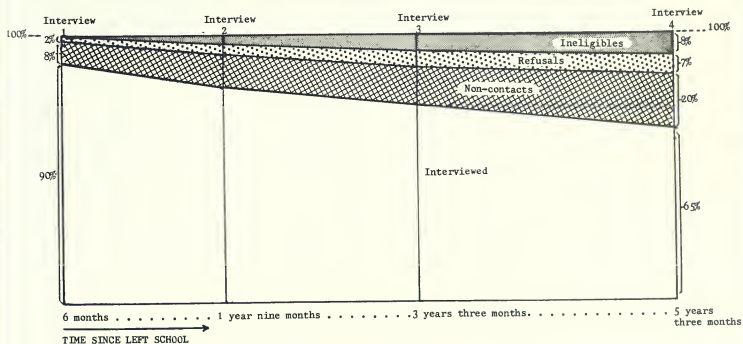
NB Non-contacts and refusals at address checks between interviews have been included with losses at the subsequent interview stage.

Figure 11.2 Cumulated losses over all interview stages by ethnicity of interviewer (West Indian leavers only)

West Indian interviewers' quota



White Interviewers' quota



NB Non-contacts and refusals at address checks between interviews have been included with losses at the subsequent interview stage.

So far, however, we have taken no account of whether the losses from each of the samples were avoidable. A large part of the depletion of the samples was attributable to natural wastage from the workforce, that is, the people (described as 'ineligibles') who were found, on recall, to be no longer working and who, for various reasons, would not be seeking full-time employment again for the remainder of the survey period. In addition, a further number (principally women who had withdrawn from employment because of pregnancy) said, when we revisited them, that although they were currently not seeking work they would do so again in the near future. These latter persons, therefore, were retained in the follow-up samples and are *not* included amongst the 'ineligibles' shown in Table II.1 and Figures II.1 and II.2. It was found later, however, that many did not seek paid

employment again during the remainder of the survey period and they had therefore eventually to be dropped from the analysis samples, as from the time they originally gave up their jobs. Finally, a few Early Migrants had to be excluded from the analysis samples (along with the reserve Whites) because we had difficulties finding suitable substitute matches for them, when the Whites with whom they had previously been paired were lost during fieldwork. Table II.2 summarises all these losses, to show how the analysis samples were eventually composed, at each interview stage.

The figures presented in Table II.2 enable us now to reassess response rates over the follow-up stages of the survey, so as to exclude the unavoidable losses, and thereby furnish a better measure of the quality of the field-

Table II.2 Summary of response and of samples for analysis at each interview stage

	Interview 2		Interview 3		Interview 4		Total losses over all follow-up stages	
	West Indians	Whites	West Indians	Whites	West Indians	Whites	West Indians	Whites
Set sample*	520	463	454	419	394	366		
Non-contacts	34	11	19	7	29	11	82	29
Refusals	16	19	18	17	11	8	45	44
Ineligible:								
(a) Did not intend to seek work again	2	4	4	12	2	11	8	27
(b) Found subsequently not to have sought work again†	1	—	9	2	9	4	19	6
(c) Others‡	13	10	10	15	9	14	32	39
White reserves and unmatchable West Indians§	7	97	10	93	20	94	..	..
Included in matched pairs sample for analysis	322	322	273	273	224	224	..	..
Later migrants' sample for analysis	125	447	111	384	90	314		

* The analysis samples from the previous interview, plus white reserves and West Indians who were unmatchable at the previous interview stage. The set sample for interviews 3 and 4 shown above are slightly lower than the 'interviewed' figures for the previous interview stages, as given in field response Table II.1, because the latter include persons who were subsequently withdrawn as they did not seek work again during the remainder of the survey period see 'Ineligible (b)' above and note to Table II.3.

† See note * to Table II.3.

‡ See Table II.3.

§ See Chapter 2, pages 2-3.

NB Losses of address checks are included in the figures for the next interview stage.

Table II.3 Reasons for ineligibility by sex of leaver

Reasons for ineligibility	West Indians		Whites		All West Indians		All Whites	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Number	%	Number	%
No longer seeking full-time paid employment*	2	25	—	33	27	46	33	46
Left UK	7	10	2	5	17	29	7	10
Joined Armed Forces	10	—	8	1	10	17	9	13
In prison/borstal	3	—	3	—	3	5	3	4
Deceased/physically incapacitated	1	1	1	—	2	3	1	1
Left survey area†	..	..	5	14	..	..	19	26
(Whites only)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Totals	23	36	19	53	59	100	72	100

* These include people who were dropped from the follow-up sample because they definitely did not intend taking paid employment again (for the remainder of the survey period) and are therefore classified as 'ineligible' in Table II.1, plus those who, although they also had given up paid employment were retained in the sample because they said they would (or might) return to work later, but who were subsequently dropped from the analysis sample as from the time they originally gave up their jobs, because they never in fact sought for paid employment again - see Table II.2. All but three were girls who did not wish, or were no longer able, to work because they had married and/or had young children to look after. The other three had entered courses of full-time further education which would not be completed until after the end of the survey period.

† See commentary on page 107.

work. If all the persons who were eventually found to be ineligible for further interview are subtracted from the achieved sample at the first interview stage (that is, the set sample for the second interview) this gives the total number who remained in the workforce until the end of the survey period and who were therefore eligible for interview at all three follow-up stages. If the cumulated non-contacts and refusals are then expressed as a proportion of this revised base it will show what percentage of the achieved sample at the first interview were subsequently lost for *avoidable* reasons, over the subsequent three interviews: that is $\frac{127}{520 - 59} \times 100 = 28\%$

of West Indians and $\frac{73}{463 - 72} \times 100 = 19\%$ of Whites.

Or, in other words, we find that 72% of the West Indians and 81% of the Whites in the achieved samples at the first interview, who remained in the workforce until the end of the survey period, were subsequently interviewed successfully at all three follow-up stages. (Had we been able to interview the non-contacts and refusals, a proportion of them would also no doubt have been found to have withdrawn from the workforce. The figures quoted above are therefore probably a slight understatement of the true level of response.)

The next table (II.3) provides an account of all the reasons for which people became ineligible for further interview. The most common circumstance, accounting for nearly a half of the white and West Indian ineligibles, was when female informants no longer wished, or were unable, to continue in employment after marriage and/or becoming mothers. Amongst the males the most frequent reason was enlistment in the Armed Forces. A number of people (particularly in the West Indian samples) had emigrated, mostly to Canada and the USA. Whilst a quarter of the White ineligibles were due to people moving away from the London and Birmingham areas. To have followed up such people would have created considerable logistical problems. They had, therefore, to be dropped from the samples and if previously matched to Early Migrants their places were taken by other Whites of the same sex, educational level and area of residence, from the reserve pool. Fortunately, this difficulty seldom arose with the West Indians. There were one or two instances of West Indians moving between London and Birmingham which we catered for by rematching them to suitable Whites living in the areas in which the West Indians had taken up residence. In the few cases when West Indians moved elsewhere, rather than lose them from the sample, we continued to pursue them wherever they went.

The effects of sample attrition on the composition of the analysis samples

In the next series of tables we examine the characteristics of the people who were lost during the follow-up stages of the survey, and the effects that their loss had on the composition of the residual analysis samples, at each stage. A wide range of variables were inspected, but very few showed a noteworthy divergence between the people who were lost and those who were retained.

The left-hand section of Table II.4 classifies the West Indian non-contacts, refusals and ineligibles in terms of the principal variables used for matching. If the figures in the column for 'All losses' are compared with those in the column for the first interview analysis sample, it will be observed that the most important difference was that there was a slight tendency for the people who were lost to be less educated. The adjacent columns demonstrate that this tendency was confined to the refusals and non-contacts; being particularly true of the non-contacts. There were also relatively more losses in London, particularly as a result of refusals. This is a consequence of the poor response rate in the West Indian interviewers' quota at the first interview with the Year 1 sample, aggravated no doubt by the general tendency in social surveys to encounter more refusals in the London area.

Overall, the sex distribution of the losses was almost identical to that of the first interview sample: the slight tendency for non-contacts to occur more frequently amongst males being counterbalanced by the higher proportion of female ineligibles (see Table II.3).

The right-hand side of Table II.4 traces the effect of the losses on the analysis sample distributions at each subsequent interview. Here, the losses also include a few Early Migrants who had to be withdrawn from the analysis samples because we were unable to find suitable White matches for them (see Table II.2). This data demonstrates that between the first and the last interview the losses had only a very marginal effect on the sample distributions, producing a maximum difference of 3% at any educational level, and a maximum variation in sex and area distributions of 2% and 4%, respectively.

The matched Whites have not been included in Table II.4 because they obviously had the same characteristics as the Early Migrants with whom they were paired.

A wide variety of other variables were also scrutinised, covering topics such as unemployment, occupational grouping, job mobility, further education, personality and experience of discrimination, to see if they showed any further indication that the losses from the samples were notably atypical on any other dimension. Apart from finding that people who had been described by their teachers as 'unco-operative' were prone to evince a similar attitude toward the survey, the only noteworthy point to emerge from these further checks was that there was a slight tendency to lose people who had a great deal of unemployment and/or a particularly large number of jobs. Although this obviously needs to be borne in mind in relation to the analysis of our informants' subsequent work histories, in practice, as the following tables demonstrate, so far as we could determine, it had relatively little effect on the composition of the residual analysis samples.

As the amount of unemployment and the number of job changes since leaving school tended to increase as the

Table II.4 Characteristics of cumulated losses, and of samples for analysis at each interview stage (West Indians only)

	Total losses between 1st and 4th interviews				Analysis sample						
	Non-contacts	Refusals	Ineligibles	All losses	At 1st Interview	Losses*	At 2nd Interview	Losses*	At 3rd Interview	Losses*	At 4th Interview
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Sex</i>											
Male	57	51	43	51	52	57	51	49	51	41	54
Female	43	49	57	49	48	43	49	51	49	59	46
<i>Education</i>											
Low	50	51	40	47	41	56	39	36	40	47	38
Medium	38	29	41	37	36	31	37	44	36	34	36
High	12	20	19	16	23	13	24	19	25	18	26
<i>Area</i>											
London	46	60	50	51	42	47	41	57	39	41	38
Birmingham	54	40	50	49	58	53	59	43	61	59	62
<i>Base</i>	82	45	59	186	515	68	447	63	384	70	314

* The sum of the losses from the analysis sample at the follow-up stages is slightly higher than the sum of the non-contacts, refusals and ineligibles because the former also include a few Early Migrants who were interviewed but for whom no suitable White matches could be found. See Table II.2.

NB Whites do not feature in the above table because those who were included in the analysis samples automatically possessed the same characteristics as the Early Migrants to whom they were matched, and the characteristics of the White field losses had no direct influence on the composition of the residual analysis samples – see note to Table II.5.

survey progressed, very little could be inferred about the effects of the fieldwork losses on the composition of the sample by comparing, for example, lengths of unemployment up to the first interview with the amounts that the reduced sample at the second interview had experienced, fifteen months later. Also, as we do not know how much unemployment the non-contacts and refusals at the second interview stage had had subsequent to the first interview, when assessing the characteristics of the losses from the sample, we have, of necessity, to confine ourselves to the information we have about them up to the last occasion when we were able to interview them.

To meet our purposes, therefore, in the following two tables we show the amount of unemployment, or the number of jobs, that members of each sample had had up to each interview – firstly, in the sample as originally constituted, then by the persons who were subsequently dropped from the sample, and finally by those who were retained until the following interview stage. Also, as the Early Migrants and their matched Whites displayed divergent trends in relation to unemployment and job mobility, it is necessary here (unlike when examining changes in sample composition in relation to the matching characteristics, in Table II.4) to include the Whites and to separate the data for the Early and Later Migrants. It should be noted, however, that whereas any differences in the characteristics of the West Indian samples at each interview stage are the direct product of the atypical features of the West Indian losses, this is *not* so in the case of the Whites; as the matched Whites who were lost were mostly replaced by drawing on the reserve pool. Changes in the composition of the White sample, in the following two tables, are solely the product of rematching and the contraction of the sample resulting from the withdrawal of those who were previously matched to Early Migrants who had been lost during fieldwork. The replacement matches were selected solely on the basis of the original matching criteria: age, sex, education and area of residence. However, a replacement match could well have had a different amount of unemployment or number of jobs since leaving school, to

the person whose place he or she had taken, and as there was a slight tendency to lose people who had particularly long periods of unemployment or an especially high rate of job changing, the reserve Whites who were retained in the follow-up samples and used for rematching tended, inevitably, to have had less unemployment and fewer jobs than the Whites who had been lost. This is why in the following tables we find that the composition of the White sample (unlike that of the West Indian samples) appears to be largely unaffected by sample attrition.

Table II.5 shows that it was not until the fourth interview that the characteristics of the West Indian samples were noticeably affected by the slightly greater tendency to lose people who had particularly lengthy periods of unemployment. The actual effect on the composition of the samples, however, was extremely small, especially amongst the Early Migrants. The most notable change was the fall from 6% to 4% in the proportions of Later Migrants in each of the two top categories, that is people who had experienced nine months to a year, and over a year's unemployment, from leaving school up to the third interview. As noted earlier, there was virtually no change in the composition of the White sample, with respect to their experience of unemployment.

Table II.6 shows that the tendency to lose West Indians who had had an especially large number of jobs also had virtually no impact on the characteristics of the residual samples, until the fourth interview. Here again the effect was very small. As with their experience of unemployment, the job mobility of the White sample was very similar, before and after reconstitution, at all interview stages.

Thus, to summarise, the main detectable effects of the field losses during the follow-up stages of the survey, were that there was a slightly greater tendency to lose contact with less educated leavers and with persons who had had an especially large amount of unemployment or a great many jobs. This is as one would have expected, given that leavers who changed jobs very often and who were most

prone to unemployment were generally most likely to be found in the lowest educational stratum (see Chapters 4 and 5).

For details of the manner in which the methods used in

the longitudinal analysis were adapted to control for these minor changes in the composition of the samples, the reader should refer to our general discussion on methodology (see Chapter 2).

Table II.5 Effects of losses on analysis sample distributions at subsequent interview stages by total time unemployed

Total time unemployed	From school up to:								
	1st interview			2nd interview			3rd interview		
	1st interview sample	Difference*	2nd interview sample	2nd interview sample	Difference*	3rd interview sample	3rd interview sample	Difference*	4th interview sample
<i>Whites</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Up to 1 month	77	74	77	71	78	70	61	65	60
Up to 3 months	18	20	18	20	16	21	25	24	25
Up to 6 months	4	4	4	4	—	5	6	4	7
Up to 9 months	1	2	1	2	2	2	4	4	4
Up to 1 year	—	—	—	1	—	1	3	2	3
Over 1 year	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Base</i>	373	51	322	322	49	273	273	49	224
<i>Early Migrants</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Up to 1 month	52	51	52	45	45	45	34	35	34
Up to 3 months	32	35	32	29	24	30	32	28	33
Up to 6 months	13	12	13	16	22	15	14	18	13
Up to 9 months	3	2	3	6	4	6	9	6	10
Up to 1 year	—	—	—	2	4	2	4	4	4
Over 1 year	—	—	—	2	—	2	6	8	5
<i>Base</i>	373	51	322	322	49	273	273	49	224
<i>Later Migrants</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Up to 1 month	56	8	57	53	8	52	47	10	47
Up to 3 months	20	3	20	14	2	14	16	1	19
Up to 6 months	15	4	14	18	3	18	14	4	12
Up to 9 months	9	2	9	9	1	9	11	—	13
Up to 1 year	—	—	—	4	—	5	6	3	4
Over 1 year	—	—	—	2	—	2	6	3	4
<i>Base</i>	142	17	125	125	14	111	111	21	90

* For details of the composition of the West Indian 'losses' see Table II.4. The 'differences' between the White analysis samples at each stage, however, are not the direct product of field losses, as was mostly the case with the West Indians. Wherever possible, matched Whites who were lost during fieldwork were replaced from the reserve pool. The 'differences' between the White samples at each stage are therefore merely an artifact of losses amongst the Early Migrants to whom they were matched.

Table II.6 Effects of losses on analysis sample distributions at subsequent interview stages by number of jobs

Number of jobs	From school up to:								
	1st interview			2nd interview			3rd interview		
	1st interview sample	Difference*	2nd interview sample	2nd interview sample	Difference*	3rd interview sample	3rd interview sample	Difference*	4th interview sample
<i>Whites</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	1	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	77	55	81	49	39	50	34	37	33
2	17	29	14	26	28	25	22	14	24
3	3	6	2	16	16	16	20	18	20
4	1	4	1	5	10	4	10	12	9
5	1	2	*	3	6	3	8	14	7
6	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	2	2
7	—	—	—	1	—	1	5	2	5
<i>Base</i>	373	51	322	322	49	273	273	49	224
<i>Early Migrants</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	3	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	74	69	75	41	35	42	25	33	23
2	18	22	17	29	26	29	26	14	29
3	3	6	3	17	24	16	18	14	18
4	1	2	1	6	4	7	10	12	9
5	—	—	—	4	4	4	7	2	8
6	—	—	—	2	4	2	8	10	8
7	—	—	—	1	2	1	6	14	4
<i>Base</i>	373	51	322	322	49	273	273	49	224
<i>Later Migrants</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	7	2	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	70	11	71	49	3	52	32	3	37
2	16	1	18	26	6	23	30	9	27
3	6	3	4	14	2	14	16	3	17
4	—	—	—	6	1	5	11	3	10
5	—	—	—	2	1	1	5	1	4
6	1	—	1	3	1	3	1	—	1
7	—	—	—	1	—	1	5	2	4
<i>Base</i>	142	17	125	125	14	111	111	21	90

* See note to Table II.5.

Appendix III The construction of composite variables and indices

In the second part to our analysis we have used again some of the composite variables, indices and collapsed occupational/industrial classifications which were developed earlier for the data collected at the first interview: for details of how these were constructed the reader should refer back to Appendix III, in Volume 1. The general principles upon which the longitudinal summary items were constructed have also already been discussed in Chapter 2. In this appendix, therefore, we shall confine ourselves simply to explaining how these and other composite variables and indices deriving from data collected in the follow-up interviews were constituted, wherever this is not self-evident from the descriptions given in the main body of the report. Firstly, we shall deal with the composite variables and indices that relate to the detailed job descriptions and attitudinal data obtained at the third interview.

Job assessments (see Chapter 9)

At the third interview, in addition to recording basic information about the occupations in which people were currently working, all employed leavers were requested to complete two questionnaires which asked for our informants' opinions and feelings about their work and conditions of employment, and how important each facet of their employment was to them personally (see Appendix IV, Third interview schedule, Self-completion Questionnaires Numbers 1 and 2). Each informant was then asked to rank the four factors which he/she considered to be most important. (For a full description of how this was done the reader should refer to Appendix IV, Third interview schedule, Question 46.)

The answers in the two self-completion questionnaires were then collated to determine how far each person's current job possessed the three characteristics the informant considered to be most important, in the same manner as for the equivalent data collected in the first interview (see Volume 1, Appendix III).

Rewards for merit and attitudes to vocational training (see Chapter 8)

At the third interview we also asked leavers the same questions as we had put to their parents at the first interview, about their general attitudes to work and the value of gaining a good vocational training. The leavers' answers were summarised in the form of indices, in the same manner as were those of their parents. For details of how this was done the reader should therefore refer again to Volume 1, Appendix III.

Longitudinal summary items (see Chapters 10 and 12)

Most of the composite items and indices used in the longitudinal analysis, such as those that relate to unemployment and further education, are self-explanatory. There are only two cases where further explanation is required: these concern the leavers' overall level of job satisfaction throughout the five years of the survey, and

their general feelings about the friendliness of their fellow workers, over the first three years.

At each of the four interviews, all employed leavers were asked whether they were 'very satisfied', 'fairly satisfied' or 'dissatisfied' with their current jobs; the answers were scored 1, 2 and 3, respectively. The scores for each individual over all four interviews were then summated, giving combined scores ranging from 4 to 12, which were then collapsed into three equal divisions, designated 'high', 'medium' and 'low', as under:

Overall rating	Summation of scores from all 4 interviews	Examples
Generally very satisfied	4-6	Very satisfied at all 4 interviews - very satisfied at 2 interviews and fairly satisfied/unemployed* at 2
Fairly satisfied	7-9	Very satisfied at 1 interview and fairly satisfied/unemployed at 3 - fairly satisfied/unemployed at 3 and dissatisfied at 1
Generally dissatisfied	10-12	Dissatisfied at 2 interviews and fairly satisfied/unemployed at 2 - dissatisfied at all 4 interviews

* If a respondent was unemployed at a particular stage, a score of 2 (equivalent to 'fairly satisfied') was imputed, in order to create a complete record for each person.

A similar procedure was adopted to summarise the informants' feelings about their fellow workers, from related questions asked at the first three interview stages. The constituent items were as follows:

Interview stage	Wording of original statement or question
1	All the people I work with are very friendly (answers recorded as 'true', 'partly true' or 'not true')
2	Do you find the people who you work with easy to get on with? (answers recorded as 'always very easy', 'fairly easy' or 'rather difficult')
3	The people I work with are sometimes a bit difficult to get on with (answers recorded as 'true', 'partly true' or 'not true')

The responses to each statement or question were given a score of 1, 2 or 3, representing a positive, intermediate or negative reaction, and summated to give a combined score ranging from 3 to 9. These were then collapsed as follows:

Final rating of 'compatibility of fellow workers'	Summation of values from all three items
High	3 or 4
Medium	5, 6 or 7
Low	8 or 9

Appendix IV Principal documents used for data collection and primary analysis

<i>Second Interview</i>	<i>Page</i>
Edit Sheet	113
Interview Questionnaire	114
 <i>Third Interview</i>	
Edit Sheet	136
Interview Questionnaire	137
Self-completion Questionnaire - 1	161
Self-completion Questionnaire - 2	163
 <i>Fourth Interview</i>	
Edit Sheet	165
Interview Questionnaire	166
Card B - Men	} re questions 74-78 in questionnaire
Card B - Girls	
	197
	198
 <i>Supplementary Coding Schedule No. 2</i>	 199

SECOND HOME INTERVIEW

Summer Leavers
Year 1

Serial Number

Name and Address

Informant's christian/forename

Marital status (at last int.) - SINGLE / MARRIED

Notes from previous interviewer on how to locate address:-

(I) Date of LAST INTERVIEW

1972

(II) Details of JOB AT LAST INTERVIEW - (SEE Q2)

Occupation	UNEEMPLOYED	X
Industry		
Name of employer	Training status/title	None 0

(III) If at last interview informant was still hoping to get a particular job YES (SEE Q4/12)
NO

Description of desired occupation

(IV) Number of different employers upto time of last interview → (SEE Q4/8)

(V) If doing FE COURSE at time of last interview YES (SEE Q7/1)
NO

Type of course

Qualifications studying for/Subjects studying
(1)
(2)
(3)

(VI) If awaiting results of EXAMS at last interview YES (SEE Q7/4)
NO

Type of Exam

Subjects

Any other comments relating to address:-

MAIN STAGE/YEAR I/SUMMER
(Interview II)

Office of Population Censuses & Surveys

SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION

Serial Number

Name of informant

Date of interview day month Time began -
" finished -

Interviewer's name

Authorisation Number

<p>FULL DETAILS OF ALL NON - CONTACTS or REFUSALS to be recorded on separate sheet provided</p>	<p>Other persons in the room during part or all of the interview (disregarding people just passing through) -</p> <table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>No-one</td></tr> <tr><td>2</td><td>Father</td></tr> <tr><td>3</td><td>Mother</td></tr> <tr><td>4</td><td>Older brothers or sisters</td></tr> <tr><td>5</td><td>Younger brothers or sisters</td></tr> <tr><td>6</td><td>Anyone else (specify)</td></tr> </table>	1	No-one	2	Father	3	Mother	4	Older brothers or sisters	5	Younger brothers or sisters	6	Anyone else (specify)
1	No-one												
2	Father												
3	Mother												
4	Older brothers or sisters												
5	Younger brothers or sisters												
6	Anyone else (specify)												
<p>If address was found to be correct and complete -</p> <table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>Yes</td></tr> <tr><td>2</td><td>No</td></tr> </table> <p>If NOT Give full correct address below</p>	1	Yes	2	No	<p>IF THERE WAS Do you think their presence affected the interview in any way?</p> <table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>No</td></tr> <tr><td>2</td><td>Yes (EXPLAIN)</td></tr> </table>	1	No	2	Yes (EXPLAIN)				
1	Yes												
2	No												
1	No												
2	Yes (EXPLAIN)												
<p>If address was difficult to find</p> <p>If YES Give (additional) instructions on how to locate, below -</p>													
<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>Yes</td></tr> <tr><td>2</td><td>No</td></tr> </table>		1	Yes	2	No								
1	Yes												
2	No												

CHECK ENTRY BENEATH ADDRESS AND IF INT. SINGLE AT LAST INTERVIEW, ASK Q1 FIRST

DNA (Infant already married at last interview) ☒

1. Before we start. Can I first check if you are now married or single?

SINGLE	1
MARRIED	2 - If infant is female, ask for married name and write below IN BLOCK LETTERS, PLEASE

2. PRE-EDIT - to be completed by interviewer, from information furnished at ITEM II on EDIT SHEET

DETAILS OF JOB AT LAST INTERVIEW - UNEMPLOYED ☒ - Go to Q9 page 5

Occupation	
Industry	
Name of employer	Training status/title
	None - 0

3. When we last saw you on _____ (date of last interview), I believe you were working as a _____ (occupation) for _____ (employer).

Are you still working for the same employer?

IF STILL WORKING FOR SAME EMPLOYER	Yes	1 - Ask (a)
(a) Are you still doing the same kind of work now?	No	2 - Go to Q10 page 5
(b) What kind of work are you doing now?	Yes	1 - Go to Q4 page 3
	No	2 - Ask (b)

Present occupation

Training Status/title (if any)

None - 0

- 2 -

4. SEE ITEM III ON EDIT SHEET

At time of last interview informant was NOT STILL HOPING TO GET A PARTICULAR JOB	(ring)	SEE ITEM IV ON EDIT SHEET
If informant WAS STILL HOPING TO GET A PARTICULAR JOB - (Compare present occupation with the job mentioned at Item III and ring appropriate code below -)	1	(ring)
Has now obtained desired job	1	1 - Go to Q52 page 25
Has still not obtained desired job	2 - Ask Q5 below	2 - Go to Q47 page 21
DOUBTFUL whether job is the same	3 - Go to Q6 opposite	

5. When we came to see you last time, I believe you said you were hoping eventually to become a _____.
Is this still your ambition, or have you now changed your mind about it?

Has now changed mind about it

Still has ambition
Go to Q8 opposite
Other answer (SPECIFY) 3

1 - Go to Q7 opposite
2 - Go to Q8 opposite
3 -

- 3 -

6. When we came to see you last time, I believe you said you were still hoping eventually to become a _____. Would you say that your present job is of the kind you were hoping to get, or not?

- Yes
1 - Go to Q.8
2 - Ask (a)
No
3 - Go to Q.7 below
Other answer (SPECIFY)

If NO

(a) Is it still your ambition to get a job as a _____, or have you now changed your mind about it?

- Has now changed mind
1 - Ask Q.7 below
Still has ambition
2 }
Go to Q.8
3 }
Other answer (SPECIFY)

7. What do you intend to do now?

- 1 Stay in present occupation
2 Any other answer (try to get infmt. to be as specific as possible)

SEE
ITEM IV
ON
EDIT
SHEET

If had -

- ONE EMPLOYER only, upto time of last interview
2 EMPLOYERS or more, upto time of last interview

(ting)

- 1 - Go to Q.52 page 23
2 - Go to Q.47 page 21

9. When we last came to see you, I believe you were unemployed. Do you have a full-time, paid job now?

- Yes
1 - Ask Q.10
No
2 - Go to Q.33 page 13

10. What job do you have now?

UNEMPLOYED at present

X - Go to Q.23 page 10

Occupation

Industry

Name of employer

Training status/title (if any)

(ts)

FOR OFFICE
USE ONLY

(seg)

(ec)

(ind)

None 0

11. How did you find this job?

- By answering an advert. in a newspaper/magazine 1
Through - The Youth Employment Service or Employment Exchange 2
" A private employment agency 3
By any other means (DESCRIBE). 4

12. SEE ITEM III
ON EDIT SHEET

At time of last interview informant was
NOT STILL HOPING TO GET A PARTICULAR JOB (ring)
X - Go to Q.17
page 7

If informant WAS STILL HOPING TO GET
A PARTICULAR JOB -
(COMPARE PRESENT OCCUPATION
with the job mentioned at Item III
and ring appropriate code below -)

Has now OBTAINED desired job 1 - Ask Q.13 below
Has still NOT OBTAINED desired job 2 - Ask Q.14 below
Doubtful whether job is the same 3 - Go to Q.15
page 7

13. When we came to see you last time, I believe you said
then that you were hoping eventually to become a _____.
Is this still your ambition, or have you now changed
your mind about it?
Before you succeeded in getting it?
_____ Go to Q.17
page 7

14. When we came to see you last time, I believe you said
you were hoping eventually to become a _____.
Is this still your ambition, or have you now changed
your mind about it?
Has now changed mind about it 1 - Go to Q.16
page 7
Still has ambition 2 - Go to Q.17
Other answer (SPECIFY) 3 - page 7

15. When we came to see you last time, I believe you said you
were still hoping eventually to become a _____.
Would you say that your present job is of the kind you
were hoping to get, or not?

Yes 1 - Ask (a)
No 2 - Ask (b)

If YES
(a) How many times did you apply for a job of this sort
before you succeeded in getting it?
_____ Go to Q.17

If NO
(b) Is it still your ambition to get a job as a
or have you now changed your mind about it?
Has now changed mind 1 - Ask Q.16
Still has ambition 2 - Go to Q.17
Other answer (SPECIFY) 3 -

16. What do you intend to do now?
Stay in present occupation 1
Any other answer (try to get 2
indicated to be as specific as
possible)

Only if IN EMPLOYMENT AT LAST INTERVIEW - SEE Q.2
DNA (Unemployed at last int.) X - Go to Q.20
page 9
17. Can I just check: how many employers, including your
present one, have you worked for full-time since you
left _____ (name of employer at time of LAST INTERVIEW)?

If ONE only - Go to Q.18
If 2 OR MORE - Go to Q.19

If has had only ONE CHANGE OF EMPLOYER since last interview

18. For how long were you out of work between leaving your job and starting your present job? (name of employer at time of LAST INTERVIEW)

Started next job immediately

Go to Q.47 page 21

weeks days

OFF USE

IF LESS THAN 1 WEEK . . . Go to Q.47 page 21

IF FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS . . . Go to Q.45 page 20

IF 4 WEEKS or more . . . Go to Q.41 page 17

If has had 2 OR MORE CHANGES OF EMPLOYER since last interview

19. Since you left your job with _____ (name of employer at LAST INTERVIEW) have you, at any time, been unemployed for a week or more?

1 - Ask (a) & (b)
2 - Go to Q.47 page 21

Yes No

IF YES

(a) How many times? _____

(b) How long were you unemployed on that (each) occasion?

TO THE NEAREST WEEK

weeks

OFF USE

IF LONGEST PERIOD OF unemployment was -

- (i) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS - Go to Q.45 page 20
(ii) 4 WEEKS or more - Go to Q.41 page 17

20. Thinking back to the time we last came to see you on _____ (date), when you were unemployed: can you tell me for how long, altogether, you were out of work on that occasion?

weeks days

OFF USE

21. Since then, how many employers, including your present one, have you worked for full-time?

IF ONE only - see instructions at bottom of page
IF 2 OR MORE - Ask Q.22 below

If has had 2 OR MORE EMPLOYERS since last interview

22. Since we last came to see you, have you been unemployed for a week or more at any (other) time?

1 - Ask (a) & (b)
2 - see instructions at bottom of page

Yes No

IF YES

(a) How many times? _____

(b) How long were you unemployed on that (each) occasion?

TO THE NEAREST WEEK

weeks

OFF USE

- IF LONGEST PERIOD OF unemployment t at Qs.20 or 22 is -
(i) LESS THAN 1 WEEK - Go to Q.47 page 21
(ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS - Go to Q.45 page 20
(iii) 4 WEEKS or more - Go to Q.41 page 17

23. Since you left _____ (name of employer at LAST INTERVIEW),
have you worked full-time for any other employer?

Yes _____
No _____

24. How long is it since you left your last job?

1 - Go to Q.26 page 11	weeks	days	OFF USE
2 - Ask Q.24 below			

25. Have you fixed-up to start another job now, or are
you still looking for work?

Has now fixed-up another job
Is still looking for work
Has applied for another job
but uncertain if has got it yet
Is not looking for work now

If left last job -

- (i) LESS THAN 1 WEEK AGO - Go to Q.47 page 21
(ii) 1 TO 3 WEEKS AGO - Go to Q.45 page 20
(iii) 4 WEEKS OR MORE AGO - Go to Q.41 page 17

26. How many other employers have you worked for full-time, since then?

--

If ONE only - Ask Q.27
If MORE THAN ONE - Go to Q.30
opposite

27. How long was it, after you left _____ (name of employer at LAST INTERVIEW),
before you started your next job?

X	Started next job immediately	→	weeks	days	OFF USE
X	28. How long is it now since you left your last job?	→	weeks	days	OFF USE

Has now fixed-up another job
Is still looking for work
Has applied for another job
but uncertain if has got it yet
Is not looking for work now

1 - Go to Q.38
page 15
2 - see
instructions
bottom of page
3
4 - Go to Q.39
page 16

If LONGEST PERIOD of unemployment at Qs. 27 or 28 above is -

- (i) LESS THAN 1 WEEK - Go to Q.47 page 21
(ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS - Go to Q.45 page 20
(iii) 4 WEEKS OR MORE - Go to Q.41 page 17

30. How long is it now since you left your last job? _____

weeks	days	OFF USE

31. Since you left _____ (name of employer at LAST INTERVIEW) have you at any (other) time been unemployed for a week or more?

- Yes _____
No _____
- 1 - Ask (a) & (b)
2 - Go to Q.32 below

If YES

(a) How many times? _____

(b) How long were you unemployed on that (each) occasion? _____

weeks	days	OFF USE

TO THE
NEAREST WEEK

32. Have you fixed-up to start another job now, or are you still looking for work?

Has now fixed-up another job _____

Is still looking for work _____

Has applied for another job but uncertain if has got it yet _____

Is not looking for work now _____

- 1 - Go to Q.38 page 15
2 - see instructions at bottom of page
3 - Go to Q.39 page 16
4 - Go to Q.39 page 16

If LONGEST PERIOD of unemployment at Qa.30 or 31(b) is -

(i) LESS THAN 1 WEEK - Go to Q.47 page 21

(ii) 1 TO 3 WEEKS - Go to Q.45 page 20

(iii) 4 WEEKS OR MORE - Go to Q.41 page 17

- 12 -

33. Thinking back to the time we last came to see you on _____ (date), when you were also unemployed: can you tell me for how long, altogether, you were out of work on that occasion?

Has been out of work ever since _____

X Go to Q.37 opposite
OFF USE

weeks days

OFF USE

34. How long is it since you left your last job? _____

weeks days

OFF USE

35. Can I just check: since we last came to see you on _____ (date), how many employers have you worked for full-time? _____

If ONE only - Go to Q.37 opposite

If 2 OR MORE - Go to Q.36 opposite

- 13 -

36. Since we last came to see you on _____ (date), have you been

If HAS NOW FIXED-UP ANOTHER JOB

36. Since we last came to see you on _____ (date), have you been unemployed at any (other) time, for a week or more?

If YES

(a) How many times? _____

(b) How long were you unemployed on that (each) occasion? _____

1 - Ask (a) and (b)
2 - Go to Q.37 below

Yes
No

week/s
TO THE
NEAREST WEEK

OFF USE

Has now fixed-up another job

Is still looking for work

Has applied for another job but uncertain if has got it yet

Is not looking for work now

1 - Go to Q.38 page 15

2 - see instructions at bottom of page

4 - Go to Q.39 page 16

If LONGEST PERIOD of unemployment at Qs. 33, 34 or 36 is -

(i) LESS THAN 1 WEEK - Go to Q.47 page 21

(ii) 1 TO 3 WEEKS - Go to Q.45 page 20

(iii) 4 WEEKS OR MORE - Go to Q.41 page 17

If LONGEST PERIOD of UNEMPLOYMENT since last interview has been -

(i) LESS THAN 1 WEEK - Go to Q.47 page 21

(ii) 1 TO 3 WEEKS - Go to Q.45 page 20

(iii) 4 WEEKS OR MORE - Go to Q.41 page 17

IF HAS NOW FIXED-UP ANOTHER JOB

38. What job have you now arranged to start?

Occupation	
Industry	
Name of employer	
Training status/title	None

(a) How did you find this job?

- By answering an advert in a newspaper/magazine 1
- Through - The Youth Employment Service or Employment Exchange 2
- " A private employment agency 3
- By any other means (DESCRIBE) 4

Ask about each period of unemployment of 4 WEEKS or more, separately.
If more than one, use a separate sheet for each period.
At part (a) choose the wording appropriate to the circumstances and insert the number of weeks unemployed, in the box provided.

41(a) If informant has been unemployed
for 4 WEEKS OR MORE -

- (i) At the PRESENT TIME Ask . . . Have you been looking for work ever since you left your last job, weeks ago?
- (ii) on EARLIER OCCASION Ask . . . On the occasion when you were unemployed for weeks, were you looking for work all the time?

IF NO

(b) Why was this?

YES
NO

1

2 - Ask (b) and (c)

(c) For how long (were you/have you been) actually looking for work?

weeks days

IF LONGEST PERIOD WAS ACTUALLY LOOKED FOR WORK IS -
(i) LESS THAN 1 WEEK - Go to Q.47 page 21
(ii) 1 TO 3 WEEKS - Go to Q.45 page 20
(iii) still 4 WEEKS or more - Go to Q.42 opposite

- 17 -

40. Do you intend to try to get another full-time job later?

Yes

No

1 - Ask (a)
2 } see instructions
3 } bottom of page
Other answer (SPECIFY)

IF YES

(a) How long do you think it will be before you start looking for another full-time job?

If informant intends to start looking for full-time work again later (or is uncertain) - carry-on with the questionnaire - Go now to Q.69 page 36
BUT if the informant intends to give up full-time paid employment PERMANENTLY, then end the interview here, thank him/her for helping us with the study and explain we shall not need to bother him/her again.

- 16 -

If has been UNEMPLOYED AND LOOKING FOR WORK FOR 4 WEEKS or more

42. Do you think there are any particular reasons why you had (have had) difficulty finding work?

Yes
No

1 - Ask (a)
2 - Go to Q.43
page 19

If YES

- (a) What do you think are the reasons?

YES/Always
Sometimes
NO/Never

1 - Go to Q.47
page 21
2 } Ask (a)
3 }

- If only SOMETIMES or NO/NEVER
(a) Why didn't you (always) go to see them?
Why haven't you (always) gone to see them?

43. (When you were looking for work for ___ weeks)

Did you go to the Careers Office or Employment Exchange (each time)
Have you gone to tell them you were out of work?

44. Do you know that if you (had gone/went) there you might (have got/got) unemployment pay or a Social Security allowance, whilst you (were/were) looking for work?

Yes
No
Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 - Ask (a)
2 } Go to Q.47
3 } page 21

- If YES
(a) Why (didn't/don't) you go to claim it?

Go now to Q.47 page 21

If has been UNEMPLOYED FOR 1 - 3 WEEKS at any time, since last interview

45. [(When/wherever) you (were/have been) unemployed for a week or more]

Did you go to the Careers Office or Employment Exchange (each time)
Have you gone to tell them you were out of work?

YES/Always
Sometimes
NO/Never

If only SOMETIMES or NO/NEVER
(a) Why didn't you (always) go to see them?
Why haven't you (always) gone to see them?

Yes
No
Other answer (SPECIFY)

If YES
(a) Why (didn't/don't) you go to claim it?

46. Do you know that if you (had gone/went) there you might (have got/get) unemployment pay or a Social Security allowance, whilst you (were/are) looking for work?

DNA (Has worked for only ONE employer since leaving school and is still employed there.)

47. When you left your last employer, did you leave of your own accord or were you dismissed or made redundant?

Left of own accord
Dismissed
Made redundant

If LEFT LAST EMPLOYER OF OWN ACCORD
48. What were your reasons for leaving?

X - Go to Q.52 page 25

1 - Go to Q.48
2 - Go to Q.49 Opposite
3 - Go to Q.51 page 24

If now HAS A FULL-TIME JOB - Go to Q.52 page 25
If now UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q.69 page 36

Go now to Q.47 page 21

IF DISMISSED FROM PREVIOUS JOB

49. What reasons did your employer give, for asking you to leave?

(PROBE FULLY)

No reason given

1 - Go to Q.50
page 23
2 - Ask (a)

Other answer
(SPECIFY)

50. What do you think were the reasons for your being asked to leave?

D K

1 see instructions
bottom of page
2 - Ask (a)
Other answer
(SPECIFY)

(a) Do you consider these were good enough reasons for asking you to go?

Yes

D K

No

Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 } see instructions
2 } bottom of page
3 - Ask (b)
4 } see instructions
bottom of page

(b) Do you think there were any other reasons for why you were asked to leave?

No

D K

Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 } see instructions
2 } below
3 }

IF NOW HAS A FULL-TIME JOB - Go to Q.52 page 25
IF NOW UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q.49 page 36

- 22 -

(a) Do you consider these were good enough reasons for asking you to go?

Yes

Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 } see instructions
2 } below

IF NOW HAS A FULL-TIME JOB - Go to Q.52 page 25
IF NOW UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q.49 page 36

- 23 -

IF MADE REDUNDANT FROM PREVIOUS JOB

51. How was it decided who would have to leave?

Firm closed down -
everyone had to goOther answer
(SPECIFY)1 see instructions
bottom of page

2 - Ask (a)

(a) Do you think it was fair to pick you?

No

Yes

Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 - Ask (b)

2 } see instructions
bottom of page
3 }

(b) In what way was it unfair?

IF NOW HAS A FULL-TIME JOB

52. How do you feel now about your present job?
Would you say that in general you are . . .very satisfied
fairly satisfied
or definitely not satisfied
with it?

(RUNNING PROMPT)

1 see instructions
bottom of page
2 } Ask (a)
3 }

If coded 2 or 3 above

(a) What are your reasons for not feeling (very)
satisfied with it?If fellow employees/supervisors
mentioned - do not probe furtherIf now HAS A FULL-TIME JOB - Go to Q.52 page 25
If now UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q.69 page 36If has had 2 OR MORE JOBS since leaving school - Go to Q.53 opposite
If has had ONE JOB only, since leaving school - Go to Q.54 page 27

IF HAS HAD 2 OR MORE JOBS SINCE LEAVING SCHOOL

53. How does your present job compare with your previous one?
Would you say that on the whole it is . . .

better
much the same
or not as good
as your previous one?

(RUNNING PROMPT)

IF BETTER

(a) In what ways is it better?

If fellow employees/supervisors
mentioned - do not probe further

IF NOT AS GOOD

(b) In what ways is it not as good?

If fellow employees/supervisors
mentioned - do not probe further

IF AT PRESENT A FULL-TIME PAID EMPLOYEE

IF SELF-EMPLOYED

X

Go to Q.69
page 36

54. I should like now to ask you a few questions about the people you work with in your present job. I mean only the people, including those in charge, who work at (name of infant's employer) whom you usually meet most days, in the course of your work.

About how many people do you meet frequently like this, when you are working?

DNA (Meets NO-ONE as often
as 4 times weekly)

X

Go to Q.62
page 31

If ONE only -
Go to Q.58
page 29

55. Are any (either) of these people of the same age or younger than yourself, or are they all (both) older than you?

All are older than infant

1 - Ask (a)

Some/all of same age or younger

2 } Go to Q.56

Not sure/D K

3 } below

IF ALL ARE OLDER THAN INFORMANT

(a) Would you prefer to have some other young people of a similar age to yourself to work with, or are you happy to work with older people only?

Would prefer some other young people

1

Is happy with older people only

2

Not sure/D K

3

Other answer (SPECIFY)

4

56. Are these (number) people you work with all/both men? (if infant is a boy)
all/both women? (if a girl)

All/both are men

1

Works with both sexes

2

All/both are women

3

Are any (either) of them immigrants, or people whose parents have come from places outside the British Isles?

(a) Find WHICH PLACES they are from and HOW MANY there are of each national or ethnic group - record answers in columns a(i) and a(ii) below.

(b) Indicate also the origin of the person in charge of the work group in column (b) below.

	a(1) Origins of people in work group	a(11) Total NUMBER from each place	(b) Origin of person IN CHARGE
WEST INDIES	11		11
INDIA	21		21
PAKISTAN	22		22
WEST AFRICA	31		31
EAST AFRICA*			
Indian/Pakistani	23		23
African	32		32
Other	41		41
ANYWHERE ELSE (specify country)	99		99
OFF USE			
DK WHERE FROM -			
White	64		64
Coloured			
	52		51
TOTAL →			

WHITE NON-THREATENING → 65
in charge

CHECK THAT TOTAL IS NOT GREATER THAN AT Q.54

WHITE NON-IMMIGRANT → 65
in charge

Go now to Q.61 page 30

- 28 -

If works with ONE OTHER PERSON only

58. Is this person a man or a woman?

59. Is he/she older than you?

Yes
No
Not sure/D.K.

IF OLDER

(a) Would you prefer to have another young person of a similar age to yourself to work with, or are you happy to work with an older person only?

Would prefer another young person

Is happy with an older person only

Other answer (SPECIFY)	3
------------------------	---

OFF USE

	\bar{p}
p	

10. Is he/she an immigrant, or someone whose parents have come from a place outside the British Isles?

If YES

(a) From what country?

RECORD BELOW - if East
Africa, check if of
Indian/Pakistani or
African etc descent

Yes	1 - Ask (a)
No	2 } Go to Q.
D.K.	3 } opposite

- 29 -

61. Do you find these people (this person) with whom you work easy to get on with?

662. Would you say that the person who mostly tells you what to do and is in charge of

61. Do you find these people (this person) with whom you work easy to get on with?
 Would you say that, on the whole, they (he/she) are/is . . .

(RUNNING PROMPT)	always very easy	1 - Go to Q.62 page 31
	fairly easy	2 - Ask (a)
	or rather difficult to get on with?	3 - Ask (b)
	Other answer (SPECIFY)	4 - Ask (a)

(a) In what ways are they (is he/she) not always very easy to get on with?	WRITE ANSWER BELOW
(b) In what ways do you find them (him/her) difficult to get on with?	

- 30 -

62. Would you say that the person who mostly tells you what to do and is in charge of
 you at work, generally treats you fairly?

Generally treats infant fairly	1 - see instructions bottom of page
Generally fair but occasionally unfair	2 } Ask (a)
Does not generally treat infant fairly	3 }
Other answer (SPECIFY)	4 - see instructions bottom of page

(a) . In what ways are you (sometimes) treated unfairly?

WHITES - Go now to Q.66 page 35
 WEST INDIANS - Go to Q.63 opposite

- 31 -

WEST INDIANS only

63. Would you say that generally speaking, the policy of the firm/organisation was to discriminate against or to treat all employees the same way, regardless of their nationality or race; or would you say there is some discrimination?

There is some discrimination
 Firm/senior people treat
 everyone the same way
 D K
 Other answer (SPECIFY)

1 - Ask (a)
 2 }
 3 } Go to Q.64
 4 } Page 33

- (a) In what ways is there discrimination?

WEST INDIANS only

64. If you had the choice, would you prefer to work with

West Indians only
 a mixture of people
 including West Indians
 or with white people only
 (unprompted) Don't mind which/D K
 Other answer (SPECIFY)

1 }
 2 } Ask (a)
 3 }
 4 } Go to Q.65
 5 } opposite

- (a) Why would you prefer this?

WEST INDIANS only

65. If you had the choice of being supervised by one of two people, one who was of the same nationality and race as yourself and the other who was of a different nationality and race, would you prefer the person of the same nationality and race as yourself or would you not mind who is put in charge, providing the person was good at his work?

Would prefer person of same nationality and race as informant:
 Would not mind who was put in charge
 Other answer (SPECIFY)

1
2
3

66. Do you have any relatives who work for the same employer as yourself?

Yes
No
1 - Ask (a) & (b)
2 - Go to Q.67

If YES

(a) Which of your relatives work there?

- (b) Do you meet (him/her either/any of them) often, in the course of your work?

Yes
No
1
2

67. I should like now to ask you about some of the things you do in your spare time
 (Apart from relatives) do you have any friends who work for the same employer as yourself, whom you often meet and go around with in the evenings or at weekends?
 I mean friends whom you usually see away from work, say at least once a week.

Yes
No
1 - Ask (a)
2 - Go to Q.68
opposite

If YES

(a) Are these friends men or girls/
Is this friend a man or a girl?

man/men
girl/s
both sexes
1
2
3

68. Is there a sports or social club run by the firm/organisation where you work?

Yes
No
DK

1 - Ask (a)
2 }
3 } Go to Q.69

IF YES

(a) Are you a member?

Yes
No

1 - Ask (b)
2 - Go to Q.69

IF A MEMBER

(b) How often do you go to the club or to outside events arranged by it?

on average goes -
1 at least once a week
2 less than weekly but at least monthly
3 less than monthly but at least once in the past year
4 has not gone during the past year or has never gone

69.

ASK A L I IF UNEMPLOYED OR SELF-EMPLOYED

Introduce... I should like now to ask you about some of the things you do in your spare time.

Do you attend any (other) club or association for sports, games or social activities of any kind?

Yes
No

1 (SPECIFY)
2

70. What would you say are the main things you do in your spare time?

IF MORE THAN ONE THING MENTIONED, ask . . .
(a) Which of these do you most like doing?
(UNDERLINE the one named)

71.

S E E ITEM V	IF doing FE Course at time of last interview	YES	NO	(ring) 1 - Ask Q.72 below 2 - Go to Q.73 opposite
ON EDIT SHEET				

72. When we last came to see you on _____ (date of LAST INTERVIEW)

I believe you were doing _____ (type of course/s)

in for _____ (qualifications/subjects).

Are you still doing this/these course/s?

RECORD DETAILS OF COURSE/S STILL ATTENDING/DOING, BELOW -	YES (skill doing at least Q.73)	NO	1 2 - Go to Q.73 opposite
--	---------------------------------	--------------	------------------------------

(1)

Quals. studying for/subjects studying	1	2	3	4	5	6	OFF USE
Evening	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Day Release							
Correspondence							
Sandwich/Block Release							
Full-time							
OTHER (describe)							

(2)

Evening	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Day Release							
Correspondence							
Sandwich/Block Release							
Full-time							
OTHER (describe)							

(3)

Evening	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Day Release							
Correspondence							
Sandwich/Block Release							
Full-time							
OTHER (describe)							

73. Since we last came to see you on _____ (date of LAST INTERVIEW) have you started any (other) course of further education? That is, a full-time, sandwich, block release, day release, evening, correspondence or other similar course?

Yes _____
No _____

If YES

(a) What type of course?

Then (in respect of each course mentioned) ask:

(1) Are you still doing the course?

(1) What qualifications or examinations are you studying (did you study) for?

(DISREGARD COURSES RUN BY FIRMS FOR THEIR OWN EMPLOYEES ONLY)

		Qualifications aimed at (describe in full - if none, give subjects studied)		OFF USE	
		Yes	No		
(1)	Evening	1	2	1	2
	Day release	3	4		
	Correspondence	5	6		
	Sandwich/Block Release				
	Full-time				
	OTHER (describe)				
(2)	Evening	1	2	1	2
	Day release	3	4		
	Correspondence	5	6		
	Sandwich/Block Release				
	Full-time				
	OTHER (describe)				
(3)	Evening	1	2	1	2
	Day release	3	4		
	Correspondence	5	6		
	Sandwich/Block Release				
	Full-time				
	OTHER (describe)				

74. S E E	ITEM VI	If awaiting results of exam at time of last interview	YES	NO	(ring) 1 - Ask Q.75 2 - Go to Q.76 opposite
ON EDIT SHEET					

75. When we last came to see you, you were still waiting for the results of _____ (type) exam/s in _____ (subject/s).
Can you tell me now what your results were?

Type of exam (1)	Subjects taken	OFF USE	Enter 'Pass', 'Fail', or Grade	OFF USE
GCE 'A' level	1 (1)			
GCE 'O' level	2 (1)			
CSE	3 (2)			
4 (3)				
5 (4)				
Other (specify below)	(5)			
	(6)			
	(7)			
Type of exam (2)				
GCE 'A' level	1 (1)			
GCE 'O' level	2 (2)			
CSE	3 (3)			
4 (4)				
5 (5)				
Other (specify below)	(6)			
	(7)			
Type of exam (3)				
GCE 'A' level	1 (1)			
GCE 'O' level	2 (2)			
CSE	3 (3)			
4 (4)				
5 (5)				
Other (specify below)	(6)			
	(7)			

76. Since we came to see you on _____ (date of LAST INTERVIEW) have you taken any (other) examinations of any kind?

Yes
No

1 - Ask (a)
2 - Go to Q.77
page 41

If YES

(a) What type of exam?

Then (in respect of each type mentioned) ask . . .

(i) What subject did you take?

(ii) What were your results?

Type of exam (1)	Subjects taken	OFF USE	R E S U L T	OFF USE
GCE 'A' level	1		Error 'pass', 'Fail', Grade	
GCE 'O' level	2 (1)		or 'awaiting result'	
CSE	3 (2)			
RSA	4 (3)			
Other (specify below)	5 (4)			
	(5)			
	(6)			
	(7)			
Type of exam (2)				
GCE 'A' level	1 (1)			
GCE 'O' level	2 (2)			
CSE	3 (3)			
RSA	4 (4)			
Other (specify below)	5 (5)			
	(6)			
	(7)			
Type of exam (3)				
GCE 'A' level	1 (1)			
GCE 'O' level	2 (2)			
CSE	3 (3)			
RSA	4 (4)			
Other (specify below)	5 (5)			
	(6)			
	(7)			

77. When talking about jobs, the pay one gets is naturally important, so finally, can you tell me how much you were earning now? were earning when you left your last job?

How much did you get (in the) last week/month, after the deduction of tax and national insurance, but including any overtime and bonuses (or tips)?

Weekly PAY or Monthly PAY

New Pence Pounds Pence

New Pence Pounds Pence

78. Is there anything else you would like to say about your present or future employment?

Yes 1
No 2
(record below)

79. Thank you very much for continuing to help us with this survey. We should like still to keep in touch with you, if we may. Do you still have the card which was sent to you last year, to tell us of any change of address?

Yes	1 - Go to (a)
No/Uncertain	2 - Go to (b)

IF STILL HAS CARD

- (a) If you move from this address before you hear from us again, I should be glad if you would please write to fill-in and post the card to us, so that we shall know where to find you.

IF NO LONGER HAS CARD/UNCERTAIN WHERE IT IS

- (b) ☐ Insert SERIAL NUMBER on a new RE-ADDRESS CARD and give to informant, saying]

Here is another card. Please keep it in a safe place and if you move from this address before you hear from us again, please write to fill-in and post the card to us, so that we shall know where to find you.

(I) Date of LAST INTERVIEW

	1974
--	------

FIELD HOME INTERVIEW	SUMMER YEAR 2
----------------------	---------------

(II) Details of JOB AT LAST INTERVIEW - (SEE Q2/Q7)

NOT EMPLOYED AND NOT LOOKING FOR FULL-TIME PAID EMPLOYMENT	3
UNEMPLOYED	2
IN EMPLOYMENT	1

Occupation _____

Industry _____

Name of employee _____ Training status/title _____

None 0

Informant's christian/forename _____

(III) If doing PE COURSE at time of last interview

YES	1
NO	2

(SEE Q67)

Notes from previous interviewer on how to locate address:-

Type of course	Qualifications studying for/Subject studying
(1)	
(2)	
(3)	

(IV) If awaiting results of EXAMS at last interview

YES	1
NO	2

(SEE Q70)

Type of Exam	Name of Qualification/Course/Subject/s
--------------	--

(V) Marital Status at last interview

SINGLE	1
MARRIED	2

(SEE Q16)

(VI) Number of different employers upto time of last interview

--

(FOR OPP USE ONLY)

SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION

Name of informant

Date of interview

day	month
-----	-------

 Time began - Time finished -

Interviewer's name

Authorisation number		
----------------------	--	--

<p>Full Details of All NON - CONTACTS or REFUSALS to be recorded on separate sheet provided</p>	<p>Other persons in the room during part or all of the interview (disregarding people just passing through) -</p>	<p>1 No-one 2 Father 3 Mother 4 Older brothers or sisters 5 Younger brothers or sisters 6 Anyone else (specify)</p>		<p>IF THERE WAS Do you think their presence affected the interview in any way?</p>	<p>1 No 2 Yes (EXPLAIN)</p>
<p>If address was found to be correct and complete -</p>	<p>1 2</p>		<p>If YES Give <u>full</u> correct address below</p>		
<p>If address was difficult to find</p>			<p>If YES Give (additional) instructions on how to locate, below</p>		<p>1 Yes 2 No</p>

TO BE ASKED ONLY IF CODED 3 AT ITEM 11 ON EDIT SHEET (i.e. not employed and not looking for full-time paid employment at the time of the last interview)

1. When we last came to see you on _____ (date of last interview) I believe you did not have a full-time job and were not looking for one at that time, but you said you might look for one again later.

Do you have a full-time paid job now?

Yes

No

1 - Go to Q5
page 4
2 - Ask (a)

- (a) Have you started to look again for a full-time job?

Yes

No

Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 - Ask (b)
2 - Ask (c)
3 - Ask (c)

- (b) For how long have you been looking for work?

TO THE
NEAREST WEEK

weeks
Go now
to Q50
page 50

- (c) How long do you think it will be before you start looking for another full-time job?

OFF USE

- 2 -

2.

SEE ITEM 11 ON EDIT SHEET		NOT EMPLOYED AND NOT LOOKING FOR FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT		Return to Q1 3 - on page 2	
DETAILS OF JOB AT LAST INTERVIEW		UNEMPLOYED		2 - Go to Q4 opposite	
Occupation		IN EMPLOYMENT		1	
Industry					
Name of employer		Training status/title		None - 0	

OFF USE			
---------	--	--	--

3. When we last saw you on _____ (date of last interview) I believe you were working as a _____ (occupation) for _____ (employer). Are you still working for the same employer?

Yes

No

IF STILL WORKING FOR SAME EMPLOYER

- (a) Are you still doing the same kind of work now?

Yes

No

- (b) ASK INFO FOR FULLER DETAILS OF WORK ACTUALLY DONE NOW

Yes

No

- (c) What kind of work are you doing now?

ENTER IN BOX BELOW

1 - Ask (a)
2 - Go to Q5 opposite

1 - Ask (b)
2 - Ask (c)

JOB TITLE AND FULL DETAILS OF WHAT INFO ACTUALLY DOES

TRAINING STATUS/TITLE (if any)

None

TYPE OFFICE USE ONLY

(eng)

(ec)

(inst)

(codot)

GO NOW TO Q41 page 21

- 3 -

11. Thinking back to the time we last came to see you on _____ (date), when you were unemployed: can you tell me for how long, altogether, you were out of work on that occasion?

weeks	days	OFF USE
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

12. Since then, how many employers, including your present one, have you worked for full-time?

<input type="text"/>	If ONE only - see instructions at bottom of page
<input type="text"/>	If 2 OR MORE - Ask Q13 below

If you had 2 OR MORE EMPLOYERS since last interview
13. Since we last came to see you, have you been unemployed for a week or more at any (other) time?

Yes	1 - Ask (a) & (b)
No	2 - see instructions at bottom of page

If YES

(a) How many times?

(b) How long were you unemployed on that (each) occasion?

TO THE NEAREST WEEK	weeks	days	OFF USE						
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>						
<p>If LONGEST PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT at Qe 11 of 13 is -</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>(i) LESS THAN A WEEK</td> <td>1 - Go to Q16 page 17</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS</td> <td>2 - Go to Q15 page 16</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(iii) 4 WEEKS or more</td> <td>3 - Go to Q12 page 14</td> </tr> </table>				(i) LESS THAN A WEEK	1 - Go to Q16 page 17	(ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS	2 - Go to Q15 page 16	(iii) 4 WEEKS or more	3 - Go to Q12 page 14
(i) LESS THAN A WEEK	1 - Go to Q16 page 17								
(ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS	2 - Go to Q15 page 16								
(iii) 4 WEEKS or more	3 - Go to Q12 page 14								

- 6 -

14. Since you left _____ (name of employer at LAST INTERVIEW) have you worked full-time for any other employer?

Yes	1 - Go to Q17 opposite
No	2 - Ask Q15 below

15. How long is it since you left your last job?

weeks	days	OFF USE
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

16. Have you fixed-up to start another job now, or are you still looking for work?

Has now fixed-up another job	1 - Go to Q20 page 12
Is still looking for work	2 - see instructions at bottom of page
Has applied for another job but uncertain if has got it yet	3 - see instructions at bottom of page
Is not looking for work now	4 - Go to Q30 page 13

If left last job -	(ring)
(i) LESS THAN 1 WEEK AGO	1 - Go to Q36 page 17
(ii) 1 TO 3 WEEKS AGO	2 - Go to Q35 page 16
(iii) 4 WEEKS OR MORE AGO	3 - Go to Q32 page 14

- 7 -

17. How many other employers have you worked for full-time, since then?

--

If ONE only - Ask Q18 below
If MORE THAN ONE - Go to Q21 page 9

18. How long was it, after you left _____ (name of employer at LAST INTERVIEW), before you started your next job?

Started next job immediately

X

weeks	days	OFF USE

19. How long is it now since you left your last job?

weeks	days	OFF USE

20. Have you fixed-up to start another job now, or are you still looking for work?

Has now fixed-up another job
Is still looking for work
Has applied for another job but uncertain if has got it yet
Is NOT looking for work now

If LONGEST PERIOD of unemployment at Qs 18 or 19 above is -	
(i) LESS THAN A WEEK	1 - Go to Q16 page 17
(ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS	2 - Go to Q15 page 16
(iii) 4 WEEKS or more	3 - Go to Q12 page 14

21. How long is it now since you left your last job?

weeks	days	OFF USE

22. Since you left _____ (name of employer at LAST INTERVIEW), have you at any (other) time been unemployed for a week or more?

If YES

(a) How many times?

(b) How long were you unemployed on that (each) occasion?

1 - Ask (a) & (b)
2 - Go to Q23 below

23. Have you fixed-up to start another job now, or are you still looking for work?

Has now fixed-up another job
Is still looking for work
Has applied for another job but uncertain if has got it yet
Is NOT looking for work now

If LONGEST PERIOD of unemployment at Qs 21 or 22(b) is -	
(i) LESS THAN A WEEK	1 - Go to Q16 page 17
(ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS	2 - Go to Q15 page 16
(iii) 4 WEEKS or more	3 - Go to Q12 page 14

24. Thinking back to the time we last came to see you on _____ (date), when you were also unemployed: can you tell me for how long, altogether, you were out of work on that occasion?

Has been out of work ever since		X - Go to Q28 page 11	
OFF USE	days	OFF USE	days
weeks	days	weeks	days
OFF USE	days	OFF USE	days

25. How long is it since you left your last job?

26. Can I just check: since we last came to see you on _____ (date), how many employers have you worked for full-time?

If ONE only - Go to Q28 } page 11
If 2 OR MORE - Go to Q27 }

27. Since we last came to see you on _____ (date), have you been unemployed at any (other) time, for a week or more?

Yes	1 - Ask (a) & (b)
No	2 - Go to Q28 below
If YES	
(a) How many times?	_____
(b) How long were you unemployed on that (each) occasion?	_____
TO THE NEAREST WEEK	_____
OFF USE	_____

28. Have you fixed-up to start another job now, or are you still looking for work?

Has now fixed-up another job
Is still looking for work
Has applied for another job but uncertain if has got it yet
Is not looking for work now

1 - Go to Q29 page 12
2 - see instructions at bottom of page
3 - see instructions at bottom of page
4 - Go to Q30 page 13

If LONGEST PERIOD of unemployment at Qs 24, 25 or 27 is -

(i) LESS THAN A WEEK
(ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS
(iii) 4 WEEKS or more

(ring)

1 - Go to Q36 page 17
2 - Go to Q35 page 16
3 - Go to Q32 page 14

IF HAS NOW FIXED-UP ANOTHER JOB

29. What job have you now arranged to start?

JOB TITLE and FULL DETAILS OF WHAT INT WILL ACTUALLY HAVE TO DO				
INDUSTRY				
NAME OF EMPLOYER	TRAINING STATUS/TITLE		(te)	
		Home	0	
FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	(eng)	(no)	(ind)	(codet)

(a) How did you find this job?

By answering an advert in a newspaper/magazine

Through - The Youth Employment Service or Employment Exchange

" - A private employment agency

By any other means (DESCRIBE).....

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---

IF NOT LOOKING FOR WORK NOW

30. Why are you at present not looking for work?

1 - Ask (a)	Yes
2 - see instructions at bottom of page	No
3 - at bottom of page	Other answer (SPECIFY)

31. Do you intend to try to get another full-time job later?

If YES

(a) How long do you think it will be before you start looking for another full-time job?

IF LONGEST PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT since the last interview has been	(ring)
(i) LESS THAN A WEEK	1 - Go to Q36 page 17
(ii) 1 TO 3 WEEKS	2 - Go to Q37 page 16
(iii) 4 WEEKS or more	3 - Go to Q38 page 14

If informant intends to start looking for full-time work again later (or is uncertain) - Carry-on with the questionnaire - Go now to Q47 page 25

If the informant intends to give up full-time paid employment permanently, then end the interview here; thank him/her for helping us with the study and explain we shall not need to bother him/her again.

If has been UNEMPLOYED FOR 4 WEEKS or more, at any time

Ask about each period of unemployment of 4 WEEKS or more, separately.

If more than one, use a separate sheet for each period.

At part (a) choose the wording appropriate to the circumstances and insert the number of weeks unemployed, in the box provided.

32. (a) If infet has been unemployed
for 4 WEEKS OR MORE -

(4) at the
PRESENT TIME

Ask . . . Have you been looking for work
ever since you left your last
job, weeks ago?

(ii) on an
EARLIER
OCCASION

Ask . . . On the occasion when you were
unemployed for weeks, were
you looking for work all the time?

YES
NO

1 - Ask (b)
and (c)

If NO

(b) Why was this?

- (c) For how long (were you/have you been) actually looking
for work?

weeks days

If LONGEST PERIOD

HAS ACTUALLY LOOKED FOR WORK is -

(ring)

- (i) LESS THAN A WEEK . . . 1 - Go to Q36 page 17
(ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS . . . 2 - Go to Q35 page 16
(iii) still 4 WEEKS or more 3 - Go to Q33 page 15

If has been UNEMPLOYED AND LOOKING FOR WORK FOR 4 WEEKS or more

33. Do you think there are any particular reasons why you
had (have had) difficulty finding work?

IF YES

(a) What do you think are the reasons?

Yes

No

1 - Ask (a)
2 - Go to Q34
below

34. When you were looking
for work for weeks

Did you go to the Employment Exchange
Have you gone

(each time) to tell them you were out of work and to claim unemployment
benefit?

YES/Always

Sometimes

NO/Never

1 - Go to Q36
page 17

2 - Ask (a)

3 -

If only SOMETIMES or NO/NEVER

(a) Why didn't you (always) go to see them?
Why haven't you (always) gone

Go now to Q36 page 17

If has been UNEMPLOYED FOR 1 - 3 WEEKS at any time

35. When/Whenever you were/have been Did you go to the Employment
unemployed for a week or more Have you been
Exchange (each time) to tell them you were out of work and to claim
unemployment benefit?

YES/Always
 Sometimes
 NO/Never

1 - Go to Q36
 page 17
 2 } Ask (a)
 3 }

If only SOMETIMES or NO/NEVER

- (a) Why didn't you (always) go to see them?
 Why haven't you (always) gone

IF INFORMANT HAS LEFT ANY EMPLOYER

(ring)

1 - Go to Q36 below

SINCE THE LAST INTERVIEW 2 - See instructions at foot of page

ALL OTHERS

36. When you left your last employer, did you leave of your own accord or were you dismissed or made redundant?

Left of own accord
 Dismissed
 Made redundant

1 - Go to Q37 below
 2 - Go to Q38
 opposite
 3 - Go to Q40
 page 20

If LEFT LAST EMPLOYER OF OWN ACCORD

37. What were your reasons for leaving?

- 16 -

- 17 -

If now HAS A FULL-TIME JOB - Go to Q41 page 21
 If now UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q47 page 25

IF DISMISSED FROM PREVIOUS JOB

38. What reasons did your employer give, for asking you to leave?
(FROSE FULLY)

No reason given
Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 - Go to Q39
page 19
2 - Ask (a)

39. What do you think were the reasons for your being asked to leave?

D K
Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 - see instructions
at bottom of page
2 - Ask (a)

(a) Do you consider these were good enough reasons for asking you to go?

Yes
D K
No
Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 } see instructions
2 } at bottom of page
3 - Ask (b)
4 - see instructions
at bottom of page

(a) Do you consider these were good enough reasons for asking you to go?

Yes
Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 } see instructions
2 } below

(b) Do you think there were any other reasons for why you were asked to leave?

No
D K
Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 } see instructions
2 } below
3

If now HAS A FULL-TIME JOB - Go to Q41 page 21
If now UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q47 page 25

If now HAS A FULL-TIME JOB - Go to Q41 page 21
If now UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q47 page 25

IF MADE REDUNDANT FROM PREVIOUS JOB

40. How was it decided who would have to leave?

Firm closed down -
everyone had to go
Other answer
(SPECIFY)

(a) Do you think it was fair to select you?

No
Yes
Other answer
(SPECIFY)

(b) In what way was it unfair?

IF NOW HAS A FULL TIME JOB

41. How do you feel now about your (present) job?

Would you say that in general you are

(SHUNTING PROMPT)
very satisfied
fairly satisfied
or definitely not satisfied
with it?

If coded 2 or 3 above

(a) What are your reasons for not feeling
(very) satisfied with it?

1
2 } Ask (a)
3 }

IF NOW HAS A FULL-TIME JOB - Go to Q41 page 21
IF NOW UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q47 page 25

- 20 -

(ring)
IF HAS STARTED A NEW JOB SINCE THE LAST INTERVIEW
ALL OTHERS

1 - Go to Q42 opposite
2 - Go to Q43 page 23

- 21 -

Only if HAS STARTED A NEW JOB SINCE THE LAST INTERVIEW

42. How does your present job compare generally with your previous one?

Would you say that on the whole it is

- better
much the same
or not as good
as your previous one?

IF BETTER

(a) In what ways is it better?

1 - Ask (a)
2 - Go to Q43 page 23
3 - Ask (b)

IF NOW HAS A FULL-TIME JOB

43. How much are you earning now? How much did you get last week or month, after deduction of tax and national insurance, but including any overtime or bonus (or tips)?

WEEKLY PAY (including overtime)	Founda Pence
MONTHLY PAY (including overtime)	

44. Did your last week's/month's PAY include overtime?

Yes

No

IF YES

(a) How much would you have got, after deduction of tax and national insurance, if you had not worked any overtime?

WEEKLY PAY (less overtime)	Founda Pence
MONTHLY PAY (less overtime)	

DK

45. Thinking of the people at the place where you work who have the same kind of job as yourself. Do you consider you are paid fairly, compared with them?

Yes

No

No others doing same kind of job

IF NO

(a) In what ways are you paid unfairly?

IF NOT AS GOOD

(b) In what ways is it not as good?

If now HAS A FULL-TIME JOB and is NOT SELF EMPLOYED

DVA (Self-employed)

Go to Q62
page 36

46. "I should like you now to fill-in a small questionnaire for me. It's to do with what things are like in your present job."

HAND WRITE SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE (OPENED) TO THE INFORMANT

"You will see there a number of statements, each of which I should like you to rate according to how true it is of your present job. For example, the first statement says, 'The people I work with are sometimes a bit difficult to get on with'. If you think this is true about the people with whom you are working now, then tick the right-hand box. If you think it is only partly true, or only true in some ways, then tick the middle box. If says at the top of the page what each box is for."

Please try to do them all. If you have any difficulty, tell me and I will explain.

WHEN IT IS FINISHED, CHECK THAT ALL ITEMS HAVE BEEN ANSWERED. IF NOT, SHOW THEM TO THE INFORMANT AND ASK IF HE/SHE COULD TRY ANSWERING THEM. THEN HAND THE B U P F SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE (OPENED) TO THE INFORMANT, SAYING..

"This is another questionnaire which has a similar list of things in it. This time I should like you to rate them according to how important each is to you in a job."

WHEN FINISHED, CHECK THAT ALL ITEMS HAVE BEEN ANSWERED. THEN, FROM THE CARD PACK, SELECT ALL THE ITEMS AGAINST WHICH THE INFORMANT HAS PUT A TICK IN THE "VERY IMPORTANT" COLUMN. IF THESE TOTAL LESS THAN FOUR, SELECT ALSO ALL THE ITEMS AGAINST WHICH A TICK HAS BEEN PLACED IN THE "FAIRLY IMPORTANT" COLUMN. THEN HAND THE SELECTED CARDS TO THE INFORMANT, SAYING.....

"On these cards you will find written the things which you have said are the most important to you. I should like you now to pick out the four which you consider to be the most important of all to you."

PAUSE WHILEST THIS IS BEING DONE, THEN SAY.....

"Now, from these four cards, select the one which you consider comes first in importance."

WRITE "1" IN THE BOX IN THE EXTREME RIGHT-HAND COLUMN OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, OPPOSITE THAT ITEM. THEN SAY.....

"And now the next most important?"

WRITE "2" IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX AND CONTINUE UNTIL 4 ITEMS ARE RANKED

DO NOW TO Q71 page 27

- 24 -

If now UNEMPLOYED

47. How much were you earning when you left your last job? How much did you get in the last week or month, after deduction of tax and national insurance, but including any overtime or bonuses (or tips)?

Weekly Pay (including overtime)	Pounds	Pence
Monthly Pay (including overtime)		

48. Did your last week's/month's pay include any overtime?

Yes 1 - Ask (a)
No 2 - Go to Q49 below

IF YES
(a) How much would you have got, after deduction of tax and national insurance, if you had not worked any overtime?

Weekly Pay (less overtime)	Pounds	Pence
Monthly Pay (less overtime)		

OR

49. Thinking of the people at the place where you last worked who had the same kind of job as yourself. Do you consider you were paid fairly, compared with them?

Yes 1
No 2 - Ask (a)
3

IF NO
(a) In what ways were you paid unfairly?

- 25 -

50. "I should like you now to fill-in a small questionnaire for me. It's to do with the things that are important to you in a job."

HAND B U P P SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE (OPENED) TO THE INFORMANT

"You will see there a number of statements, each of which I should like you to rate according to how important you think it is. For example, 'It is important to have a job where you can get on with'. If you think this is very important in a job, then tick the box on the left. But if you think it is only fairly important, tick the middle box. If you feel it is of little or no importance, then tick the box on the right. It says at the top of this page what each column is for."

WHEN IT IS FINISHED, CHECK THAT ALL ITEMS HAVE BEEN ANSWERED. IF NOT, SHOW THEM TO INFORMANT AND ASK IF HE COULD TRY ANSWERING THEM. THEN, FROM THE ANSWERS, SELECT THE FOUR MOST IMPORTANT ITEMS. THESE FOUR ITEMS MUST BE PLACED IN THE 'VERY IMPORTANT' COLUMN. IF THERE IS ONLY ONE ITEM LEFT, SELECT ALSO ALL THE 'ITEMS AGAINST' WHICH A TICK HAS BEEN PLACED IN THE 'FAIRLY IMPORTANT' COLUMN. THEN HAND THE SELECTED CARDS TO THE INFORMANT SAYING

"On these cards you will find written the things which you have said are the most important to you. I should like you now to pick out the four which you consider to be the most important of all to you".

PAUSE WHILEST THIS IS BEING DONE, THEN SAY

"Now, from these four cards, select the one which you consider comes first in importance".

WRITE '1' IN THE BOX IN THE EXTREME HIGH-END COLUMN OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, OPPOSITE THAT ITEM. THEN SAY

"And now the next most important?"

WRITE '2' IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX AND CONTINUE UNTIL 4 ITEMS ARE RANKED

51. As you know: when young people leave school there are various jobs they can get, in which they are given some form of training. These include apprenticeships, where they are given training on the job, and part-time attendance at courses of further education. People have different opinions about whether jobs of this kind are really worthwhile or not. Here are some things people have said about it. Please tell me whether you fully agree, partly agree or disagree with each of them

HAND PROMPT CARD TO INFORMANT. THEN READ OUT EACH ITEM IN TURN adding after each one Do you fully agree, partly agree or disagree?

IF MALE	IF FEMALE	FULLY AGREE	PARTLY AGREE	DISAGREE	D.K.
Apprenticeships are a way for employers to get cheap labour	It's not worthwhile a girl going through apprenticeship training, as she is very likely to get married and give up her job	1	2	3	4
If a boy does not make sure of getting a thorough training for some job while he's still young, he will regret it when he's older	If a girl does not make sure of getting a thorough training for some job while she's still young, she will regret it when she is older	1	2	3	4
A boy should stay on at school to get a better education, rather than leave early to take an apprenticeship	It's <u>not</u> as important for a boy, to take a job where she will get a good training	1	2	3	4
It's better for a boy to take a job where he will be well trained, even if he does not earn very much to begin with	It's better for a girl to take a job where she will be well trained, even if she does not earn very much to begin with	1	2	3	4

52. I am now going to ask you about some things people say concerning
 getting a good job depends on luck. Do you think these things are true or untrue?
 Think these things are true, partly true or untrue.
 HAND PROMPT CALLED TO IMPROBANT. THEN READ OUT EACH ITEM IN TURN,
 adding after each one True, partly true or untrue?

	TRUE	PARTLY TRUE		D.K.
	1	2	3	4
Getting a good job depends on luck more than anything else				
One of the most important things in life is to have a job you really like doing	1	2	3	4
Getting a good job depends on knowing the right people, more than on how well qualified or skilled you are	1	2	3	4
Getting promotion depends on whether the people in charge happen to like you, more than on whether you are good at your work	1	2	3	4
It's natural for people to enjoy what they do in their leisure time more than their work	1	2	3	4

ALL WEST INDIANS go now to Q53 page 29

WHITES (i) who now HAVE A FULL-TIME JOB go to Q55 page 31
 (ii) who are UNEMPLOYED go to Q62 page 36

- 28 -

53. Do you think the length of time a West Indian has lived in Britain affects
 in any way the kind of job he or she can get when leaving school?

Yes	1 - Ask (a)
No	2 - see instruction
Other answer	3 - at foot of page
(SPECIFY)	

If YES

(a) In what ways (do you think it affects the kind
 of job he or she can get)?

If now HAS A FULL-TIME JOB - go to Q54 opposite
 If now UNEMPLOYED - go to Q62 page 36

- 29 -

WEST INDIANS: WHO NOW HAVE A FULL-TIME JOB

54. Would you say your chances of promotion in your present job are affected by your being a West Indian?

Yes

No

Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 - Ask (a)

2

3

A L L WHO NOW HAVE A FULL-TIME JOB

55. I should like now to ask you a few things about trade unions. Are you a member of a trade union (or staff association)?

Yes

No

1 - Go to Q56 below

2 - Go to Q60 page 34

56. Do you hold any office or position in your union/staff association?

Yes

No

1 - Ask (a)

2

If YES

(a) What position or office do you hold?

57. How often do you attend branch meetings?

ON AVERAGE ACES -

At least monthly

Less than monthly, but at least once in the past year

Has not gone in the past year or has never attended

1

2

3

If YES

(a) In what ways (would you say your chances of promotion are affected)?

WEST INDIANS - Go now to Q58 opposite

WHITES - Go now to Q59 page 33

- 31 -

- 30 -

58. Do you think your union does enough to make sure West Indians are treated fairly?

Yes
No
Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1
2 - Ask (a)
3

59. Would you say that in general you are -

(RUNNING PROMPT)

very satisfied
fairly satisfied
or definitely not satisfied
with what your union does for you

(a) What are your reasons for not feeling
(very) satisfied?

OR

Apart from what you have already told me, do you have any other reasons for feeling dissatisfied with the union?

1
2
3

Ask (a)

If NO

(a) What ought they to do?

60. At the place where you work are any of the employees members of a trade union (or staff association) ?

Yes

No

DK

1 - Ask (a)

2 - Go to Q61

3 - page 35

If YES

(a) Are there any particular reasons why you have not joined?

Did join but left it later

Not eligible to join particular union

Has never been asked to join

Other answer (SPECIFY)

1 - Ask (b)

2 - Go to Q61

3 - page 35

4 - Go to Q62

5 - page 36

(b) Why did you leave it ?

61. If (you knew) there was a union at the place where you work, which you could join; would you join it ?

Yes

No

Other answer

(SPECIFY)

If NO

(a) Are there any particular reasons why you would not join a union ?

62. As you probably know, one of the problems met by the Department of Employment when trying to help people find suitable jobs, is that in some places in Britain there is a lot of unemployment and many people having to make do with unsuitable work, whilst in other parts of the country there are plenty of good jobs available with no-one to take them.

It would help the Department to know what young people these days feel about going to live somewhere else in Britain in order to get a job.

If you were offered a better (good) job somewhere else, would you take it, if it meant you would have to move from where you are now living?

Yes (Providing it was) Yes (NOT TOO FAR AWAY)	1 - Go to Q63 page 37
No Other answer (SPECIFY)	2 - Go to Q64 page 37
	3 - Ask (a)
	4 - Go to Q63 page 37

If NO

(a) Why is that?

63. Would it matter to you how far it was from (Birmingham/London), providing you could get a better (good) job there?

Yes
No
Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 - Go to Q64
2 - Go to Q65
3 -

64. How far would you be prepared to go? Can you give me an example of the furthest place you would be prepared to move to, if you could get a better (good) job there?

65. Would it matter to you what sort of place it was? For example, if it was a New Town, an industrial area, or a country district?

Yes
No
Other answer
(SPECIFY)

1 - Ask (a)
2 -
3 -

If YES

(a) What sort of place would you not like to move to?

66. Are there any other things that would be important to you when making up your mind whether to move from here, in order to get a better (good) job in another area?

Yes
No

1 - Ask (a)
2

If YES

(a) What are they?

SEE ITEM III ON EDIT SHEET	If doing FE Course at time of last interview	YES	NO	(ring) 1 - Ask Q63 below 2 - Go to Q69 opposite

68. When we last came to see you on _____ (date of LAST INTERVIEW)
I believe you were doing _____ (type of course/s)
in/for _____ (qualifications/subjects).

Are you still doing this/these course/s?

RECORD DETAILS OF COURSE/S STILL ATTENDING/DOING, BELOW:	YES (Still doing at least <u>ONE</u>) NO
---	---

1
2 - Go to Q69
opposite

(1)

	Quals. studying for/subjects studying						OPT USE
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Evening							
Day Release							
Correspondence							
Sandwich/Block							
Release							
Full-time							
OTHER (describe)							

(2)

	Quals. studying for/subjects studying						OPT USE
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Evening							
Day Release							
Correspondence							
Sandwich/Block							
Release							
Full-time							
OTHER (describe)							

(3)

	Quals. studying for/subjects studying						OPT USE
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Evening							
Day Release							
Correspondence							
Sandwich/Block							
Release							
Full-time							
OTHER (describe)							

Yes	1 - Ask (a)
No	2 - Go to Q7

(a) What type of exam?

(a) What type of exam?

Then (in respect of each type mentioned) ask

Then (in respect of each type mentioned) ask

(i) What was the name of the qualification or subject ?

(ii) What were your results?

TYPE OF EXAM eg. Core A level, RA, Course Challenge state Level or Part No	FULL NAME OF QUALIFICATION/COURSE OF (if OCE) individual subjects taken		RESULTS Awarded Grade or "passing result"	FOR OCE USE ONLY
	OFF USE			
(1)	If not OCE Yes state if FINAL STAGE No	1		
		2		
(2)	If not OCE Yes state if FINAL STAGE No	OFF USE		
(3)	If not OCE Yes state if FINAL STAGE No	1		
		2		
(4)	If not OCE Yes state if FINAL STAGE No	OFF USE		

- 42 -

73. Looking back over your employment since leaving school, are there any things you would have done differently, had you known then how they were going to work out?

If YES

(a) What would you have done differently?

Yes	No	Other answer (SPECIFY)
1	2	3
- Ask (a)		

74. How do you feel now about the age at which you left school ?
Are you glad you left when you did or do you now wish you had
stayed on longer, or left earlier ?

Glad left when he/she did
Wishes now had stayed on
Wishes now had left earlier
Other answer (SPECIFY)

1	} Ask (a)
2	
3	
4	

IF WISHES HAD STAYED ON/LEFT EARLIER

(a) Why do you wish you had stayed on/left earlier ?

75. Is there anything else you would like to say about your
present or future employment ?

Yes (record below)

No

1
2

SEE ITEM V ON EDIT SHEET	MARITAL STATUS AT LAST INTERVIEW	SINGLE MARRIED	1 - Ask Q77 2 - Go to Q78
-----------------------------	----------------------------------	-------------------	------------------------------

76.

77. Before we finish: can I just check if you are now married or single ?

DOES INFORMANT STILL LIVE AT THE SAME ADDRESS AS HIS/HER PARENTS?	SINGLE MARRIED	1 2
	2 - If informant is female, ask for marital status and post the below IN BLOCK LETTERS, PLEASE	Yes 1 No 2

78. Thank you very much for continuing to help us with this survey. We shall probably want to see you again sometime, if we can arrange to do so. If you may. Do you still have the card we gave you last time to tell us of any change of address?

Yes	1 - Go to (a)
No/Uncertain	2 - Go to (b)

IF STILL HAS CARD

(a) If you move from this address before you hear from us again, I should be grateful if you could remember to fill-in and post the card to us, so that we shall know where to find you.

IF NO LONGER HAS CARD/UNCERTAIN WHERE IT IS

(b) [Insert SERIAL NUMBER on a new RE-ADDRESS CARD and give to informant, saying]

Here is another card. Please keep it in a safe place and if you move from this address before you hear from us again, I should be grateful if you could remember to fill-in and post the card to us, so that we shall know where to find you.

Office of Population Censuses and Surveys

SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION

SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE-1

Name of Informant

Serial Number

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Interviewer's Name

Authorisation Number

--	--	--	--

Please tick (✓) the box which best describes what things are like in your present job . . .

	TRUE	PARTLY TRUE (or true in some ways)	NOT TRUE
The people I work with are sometimes a bit difficult to get on with	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The people in charge always treat me very fairly	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I sometimes get ordered about a bit too much	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The pace at which I am expected to work is reasonable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I dislike the hours I have to work (they are too long, too irregular or inconvenient etc)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The physical working conditions are poor (the place where I work is too noisy, dirty, dusty or hot etc)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I get very good holidays with pay	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The firm or organisation I work for looks after its employees' interests of its employees very well	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is a secure job (it is very unlikely I will be dismissed or made redundant)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	TRUE	PARTLY TRUE (or true in some ways)	NOT TRUE
I like the kind of work I do very much	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My present pay (without overtime) is low for someone of my age and qualifications	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If I stay in this job I expect to be earning a lot more when I am a bit older	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If I decide to leave my present employer this year, I should be able to get in this job should enable me to obtain a very good job somewhere else	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have to accept a lot of responsibility and decide things for myself in my job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I sometimes find it difficult to get help or advice with my work if I need it	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
You need a lot of skill or experience to do my job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have little or no chance of promotion in my present job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am proud of my job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other people I know seem to have more luck finding a good job than I do	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Office of Population Censuses and Surveys

SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION

SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE - 2

Name of
informant

Serial Number

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Interviewer's Name

Authorisation Number

--	--	--	--

Please tick (✓) the box which best describes
how important each thing is to you in a job . . .

	VERY IMPORTANT	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	OF LESS IMPORTANCE	For use of interviewer only
The people you work with are easy to get on with	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(1) <input type="checkbox"/>
The people in charge treat you fairly	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(2) <input type="checkbox"/>
You do not get ordered about too much	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(3) <input type="checkbox"/>
The pace at which you are expected to work is reasonable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(4) <input type="checkbox"/>
The hours you have to work are convenient regular and not too long	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(5) <input type="checkbox"/>
The physical working conditions are good (the place where you work is not too noisy dirty dusty or hot etc)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(6) <input type="checkbox"/>
You get good holidays with pay	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(7) <input type="checkbox"/>
The firm or organisation you work for looks after the personal welfare of its employees very well	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(8) <input type="checkbox"/>
It is a secure job (you are unlikely to be dismissed or made redundant)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(9) <input type="checkbox"/>

	VERY IMPORTANT	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	OF LESS IMPORTANCE	For use of interviewer only
The present pay (without overtime) is good for someone of your age and qualifications	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(10) <input type="checkbox"/>
If you stay in the job you can expect to earn a lot more when you are a bit older	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(11) <input type="checkbox"/>
The training or experience you get from the job will help you earn more money than somewhere else if you decide to leave later on	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(12) <input type="checkbox"/>
You can get help or advice with your work if you need it	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(13) <input type="checkbox"/>
There are opportunities for promotion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(14) <input type="checkbox"/>
You have to accept a lot of responsibility and decide things for yourself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(15) <input type="checkbox"/>
It is a skilled job or one in which you need a lot of experience	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(16) <input type="checkbox"/>
It's the sort of work you really like doing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(17) <input type="checkbox"/>
It's a job you can be proud of	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(18) <input type="checkbox"/>

Fourth Interview	Year 1 Sample
------------------	---------------

Serial Number

Name and Address

Informant's christian/forename

YES

If parents also live at above address: NO

D K

OTHER NOTES :-

(I) Date of LAST INTERVIEW

1	9	7	4
---	---	---	---

(II) Details of JOB AT LAST INTERVIEW - SEE Qs 2/7

NOT EMPLOYED AND NOT LOOKING FOR FULL-TIME PAID EMPLOYMENT	3	Time unemployed up to last interview	weeks	days
	2			
UNEMPLOYED	1			

SEE Qs 11/24

Occupation	
Industry	
Name of employer	Training status/title
	None
	0

(III) Ambition at FIRST INTERVIEW - SEE Q 79(a)

(IV) If doing PG COURSE at time of last interview YES

1

 NO

2

 SEE Q 82

Type of course	Qualifications studying for/Subject studying
(1)	
(2)	
(3)	

(V) If awaiting results of EXAMS at last interview YES

1

 NO

2

 SEE Q 85

Type of exam	Name of Qualification/Course/Subject/s

(VI) Marital Status at last interview SINGLE

1

 MARRIED

2

 SEE Q 96(VII) Number of different employers up to time of last interview

--

 FOR OFF USE ONLY

MAIN STAGE/Year 1
(Interview 4)

Office of Population Censuses & Surveys
SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION

[illegible]

Serial Number

Name of informant

day month

Date of interview

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Interviewer's name

Authorisation number

<p>FULL DETAILS OF ALL NON - CONTACTS or REFUSALS</p> <p>to be recorded on separate sheet provided</p>	<p>If address was found to be correct and <u>complete</u> -</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>Yes</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>No</td> <td>2</td> </tr> </table>	Yes	1	No	2	<p>Other persons in the room during part or all of the interview (disregarding people just passing through) -</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>No-one</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2</td> <td>Father</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3</td> <td>Mother</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4</td> <td>Older brothers or sisters</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5</td> <td>Younger brothers or sisters</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6</td> <td>Anyone else (specify)</td> </tr> </table>	1	No-one	2	Father	3	Mother	4	Older brothers or sisters	5	Younger brothers or sisters	6	Anyone else (specify)
Yes	1																		
No	2																		
1	No-one																		
2	Father																		
3	Mother																		
4	Older brothers or sisters																		
5	Younger brothers or sisters																		
6	Anyone else (specify)																		
<p>If <u>NOT</u> Give <u>full</u> correct address below</p>	<p>If <u>THERE WAS</u> Do you think their presence affected the interview in any way?</p>	<p>Do you think their presence affected the interview in any way?</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>No</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Yes</td> <td>2</td> </tr> </table> <p>(EXPLAIN)</p>	No	1	Yes	2												
No	1																		
Yes	2																		
<p>If address was difficult to find Yes 1 No 2</p>			<p>If <u>YES</u> Give (additional) instructions on how to locate, below</p>																

TO BE ASKED ONLY IF CODED 3 AT ITEM 11 ON EDIT SHEET (i.e., not employed and not looking for full-time paid employment at the time of the last interview)

1. When we last came to see you on _____ (date of last interview) I believe you did not have a full-time job and were not looking for one at that time, but you said you might look for one again later.

Do you have a full-time paid job now?

Yes
No

(a) Have you started to look again for a full-time job?

Yes
No

Other answer
(SPECIFY)

(b) For how long have you been looking for work?

TO THE
NEAREST WEEK

Weeks
see
instrns
below

OFF USE

(c) How long do you think it will be before you start looking for another full-time job?

OFF USE

GO NOW TO Q 96 on back page

If inmate has been looking for work for:

(ring)
1 - Go to Q49 page 27
(i) LESS THAN A WEEK
2 - Go to Q35 page 17
(ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS
3 - Go to Q33 page 15
(iii) 4 WEEKS or more

2.

(ring)-

SEE ITEM 11 ON EDIT SHEET	NOT EMPLOYED AND NOT LOOKING FOR FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT	UNEMPLOYED	2 - Go to Q4 page 4
DETAILS OF JOB AT LAST INTERVIEW	IN EMPLOYMENT	1	

Occupation	None - 0
Industry	Training status/title
Name of employer	

OFF USE			
---------	--	--	--

3. When we last saw you on _____ (date of last interview) I believe you were working as a _____ (occupation) for _____ (employer).
Are you still working full-time for the same employer?

Yes

No

IF STILL WORKING FOR SAME EMPLOYER

(a) Are you still doing the same kind of work now?

Yes

No

(b) ASK INPT FOR FULL DETAILS OF WORK ACTUALLY DOING NOW

(c) What kind of work are you doing now? ENTER IN BOX BELOW

1 - Ask (a)
2 - Go to Q5 on page 4
1 - Ask (b)
2 - Ask (c)

JOB TITLE AND FULL DETAILS OF WHAT INPT ACTUALLY DOES

TRAINING STATUS/TITLE (if any)	None	0
FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	(seg)	(ind)
	(sec)	(codet)

GO NOW TO Q 42 page 22

4. When we last came to see you on _____ (date of last interview)
I believe you were unemployed.
Do you have a full-time job now?

YES 1 - Ask Q5(a)
2 - Go to Q24
page 10

5. Do you have another full-time paid job now?

YES 1 - Ask (a)
2 - Go to Q14
page 7

IF YES

- a) What job do you have now?

JOB TITLE AND FULL DETAILS OF WHAT THEY ACTUALLY DOES			
INDUSTRY	NAME OF EMPLOYER	TRAINING STATUS/TITLE (if any)	(ts)
			0
	FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	(seg)	(ind)
		(sec)	(codot)
6. How did you find this job?			
By answering an advert. in a newspaper/magazine 1			
Through - The Employment Office or Job Centre 2			
" - A private employment agency 3			
By any other means (DESCRIBE) 4			
7. If at last interview infat was:-			
SEE ITEM II	EMPLOYED	.....	(ring)
ON	UNEMPLOYED	.....	1 - Go to Q8 page 5
EDIT SHEET	NOT EMPLOYED AND NOT LOOKING FOR FULL-TIME PAID EMPLOYMENT	.....	2 - Go to Q11 page 6
			3

8. Can I just check: how many employers, including your present one, have you worked for full-time since you left _____ (name of employer at last interview)? Include all the full-time jobs you have done since then, even where you may have been employed for only a very short time.

If ONE only - Go to Q9 below
If 2 or more - Go to Q10

9. For how long were you out of work, between leaving your job with _____ (name of employer at time of LAST INTERVIEW) and starting your present job?

Started next job immediately 1 Go to Q36 on page 16

Weeks days OFF USE

If LESS THAN 1 WEEK 1 - Go to Q36 page 16
If FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS 2 - Go to Q35 page 17
If 4 WEEKS or more 3 - Go to Q32 page 14

10. Since you left your job with _____ (name of employer at LAST INTERVIEW) have you, at any time, been unemployed for a week or more?

Yes 1 - Ask (a) & (b)
No 2 - Go to Q36 page 18

- IF YES
(a) How many times?

- (b) How long were you unemployed on that (each) occasion?

Weeks TO THE NEAREST WEEK OFF USE

If LONGEST PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT was - (i) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS 1 - Go to Q35 page 17
(ii) 4 WEEKS or more 2 - Go to Q32 page 14

11(a) SEE ITEM II ON EDIT SHEET Time unemployed up to last interview weeks days

11(b) Thinking back to the time we last came to see you on _____ (date), when you were unemployed: can you tell me for how long, altogether, you were out of work on that occasion?

weeks days OFF USE

12. Since then, how many employers, including your present one, have you worked for full-time? Include all the full-time jobs you have done since then, even where you may have been employed for only a very short time.

If ONE only - see instructions at bottom of page
If 2 OR MORE - Ask Q13 below

If has had 2 OR MORE EMPLOYERS since last interview
13. Since we last came to see you, have you been unemployed for a week or more at any (other) time?

Yes No
1 - Ask (a) & (b)
2 - see instructions at bottom of page

If YES

(a) How many times?

(b) How long were you unemployed on that (each) occasion?

TO THE NEAREST WEEK

weeks days OFF USE

If LONGEST PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT at Qc 11 or 13 is - (i) LESS THAN A WEEK 1 - Go to Q36 page 18 (ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS 2 - Go to Q35 page 17 (iii) 4 WEEKS or more 3 - Go to Q32 page 14

14. Since you left _____ (name of employer at last interview) have you worked full-time for any other employer?

Yes No
1 - Go to Q17 opposite
2 - Ask Q15 below
weeks days OFF USE

15. How long is it since you left your last job?

16. Have you fixed-up to start another full-time job now, or are you still looking for work?

Has now fixed-up another job
Is still looking for work
Has applied for another job but uncertain if has got it yet
Is not looking for work now
1 - Go to Q29 page 12
2 - see instructions at bottom of page
3 -
4 - Go to Q30 page 13

If left last job - (ring)
(i) LESS THAN 1 WEEK AGO 1 - Go to Q36 page 18
(ii) 1 TO 3 WEEKS AGO 2 - Go to Q35 page 17
(iii) 4 WEEKS OR MORE AGO 3 - Go to Q32 page 14

If ONE only - Ask Q18 below
If MORE THAN ONE - Go to Q21 page 9

18. How long was it, after you left _____ (name of employer at last interview), before you started your next job?

Started next job immediately

weeks days	OFF USE

19. How long is it now since you left your last job?

20. Have you fixed-up to start another full-time job now, or are you still looking for work?

Has now fixed-up another job
Is still looking for work
Has applied for another job
but uncertain if has got it yet
Is not looking for work now

1 - Go to Q29 page 12
2 - see instructions
3 - bottom of page
4 - Go to Q30 page 13

IF LONGEST PERIOD of unemployment
at Qs 18 or 19 above is -

- (i) LESS THAN A WEEK
- (ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS
- (iii) 4 WEEKS OR MORE

(ring)

(ring)

1 - Go to Q36 page 18

2 - Go to Q35 page 17

3 - Go to Q32 page 14

21. How long is it now since you left your last job?

weeks	days	OFF USE

22. Since you left _____ (name of employer at LAST INTERVIEW), have you at any (other) time been unemployed for a week or more?

IF YES

(a) How many times?

(b) How long were you unemployed on that (each) occasion?

1 - Ask (a) & (b)

2 - Go to Q23 below

Weeks	OFF USE

223. Have you fixed-up to start another full-time job now, or are you still looking for work?

Has now fixed-up another job
Is still looking for work
Has applied for another job
but uncertain if has got it yet
Is not looking for work now

1 - Go to Q29 page 12
2 } see instructions
3 } at bottom of page
4 - Go to Q30 page 13

If LONGEST PERIOD of unemployment

19117

1	-	Go to Q36	page 18
2	-	Go to Q35	page 17
3	-	Go to Q32	page 14

24(a) SEE ITEM 11
ON EDIT SHEET

Time unemployed
up to last interview

weeks

days

24(b) Thinking back to the time we last came to see you on _____ (date), when you were also unemployed: can you tell me for how long, altogether, you were out of work on that occasion?

Has been out of
work ever since

1 - Go to Q28
page 11

OFFICE USE

--	--	--

weeks

days

OFFICE USE

--	--	--

25. How long is it since you left your last job?

weeks

days

OFFICE USE

--	--	--

26. Can I just check: since we last came to see you on _____ (date), how many employers have you worked for full-time? Include all the full-time jobs you have done since then, even where you may have been employed for only a very short time.

If ONE only - Go to Q28 }
If 2 OR MORE - Go to Q27 } page 11

27. Since we last came to see you on _____ (date), have you been unemployed at any (other) time, for a week or more?

1 - Ask (a) & (b)

2 - Go to Q28 below

Yes

No

If YES

(a) How many times? _____

(b) How long were you unemployed on that (each) occasion?

TO THE
NEXT WEEK

weeks

OFF USE

--	--	--

28. Have you fixed-up to start another full-time job now, or are you still looking for work?

Has now fixed-up another job
Is still looking for work
Has applied for another job but uncertain if has got it yet
Is not looking for work now

1 - Go to Q29 page 12

2 - see instructions

3 - at bottom of page

4 - Go to Q30 page 13

If LONGEST PERIOD of unemployment

at Q24, 25 or 27 is - (i) LESS THAN A WEEK

(ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS

(iii) 4 WEEKS or more

(ring)

1 - Go to Q36 page 18

2 - Go to Q35 page 17

3 - Go to Q32 page 14

IF HAS NOW FIXED-UP ANOTHER JOB

29. What job have you now arranged to start?

JOB TITLE and FULL DETAILS OF WHAT INTENT WILL ACTUALLY HAVE TO DO				
INDUSTRY				
NAME OF EMPLOYER	TRAINING STATUS/TITLE		(ss)	
	(ss)	(sc)	(ind)	None
FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	(ss)	(sc)	(ind)	(codot)
(a) How did you find this job?				
By answering an advert in a newspaper/magazine				
Through - The Employment Office or Job Centre				
Through - A private employment agency				
By any other means (DESCRIBE)				
1				
2				
3				
4				

IF LONGEST PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT since the last interview had been	(ring)
(i) LESS THAN A WEEK	1 - Go to Q36 page 18
(ii) 1 TO 3 WEEKS	2 - Go to Q35 page 17
(iii) 4 WEEKS or more	3 - Go to Q32 page 14

-12-

IF NOT LOOKING FOR WORK NOW

30. Why are you at present not looking for work?

31. Do you intend to try to get another full-time job later?	Yes
	No
	Other answer (SPECIFY)
	1 - Ask (a)
	2 - see instructions at bottom of page
	3 -

If YES

(a) How long do you think it will be before you start looking for another full-time job?

If informant intends to start looking for full-time work again later (or is uncertain) GO NOW TO Q36 page 18

BUT

If the informant intends to give up full-time paid employment permanently, then GO TO Q96 on back page

-13-

If has been UNEMPLOYED FOR 4 WEEKS or more, at any time

Ask about each period of unemployment of 4 WEEKS or more, separately.

If more than one, use a separate sheet for each period.

At part (a) choose the wording appropriate to the circumstances and insert the number of weeks unemployed, in the box provided.

32. (a) If infem has been unemployed
for 4 WEEKS OR MORE -

(i) ☐ AT THE
PRESENT TIME

Ask . . . Have you been looking for work
ever since you left your last
job, ☐ weeks ago?

(ii) ☐ ON AN
EARLIER
OCCASION

Ask . . . On the occasion when you were
unemployed for ☐ weeks, were
you looking for work all the time?

YES

1 - see inside
bottom of page
2 - Ask (b)
and (c)

NO

If NO

(b) Why was this?

(c) For how long (were you/have you been) actually looking
for work?

weeks days

If LONGEST PERIOD
HAS ACTUALLY LOOKED FOR WORK is -

(i) LESS THAN A WEEK . . .
(ii) FROM 1 TO 3 WEEKS . . .
(iii) still 4 WEEKS or more

(ring)

1 - Go to Q36 page 18
2 - Go to Q35 page 17
3 - Go to Q33 page 15

If has been UNEMPLOYED AND LOOKING FOR WORK FOR 4 WEEKS or more

33. Do you think there are any particular reasons why you
had (have had) difficulty finding work?

YES

NO

1 - Ask (a)
2 - Go to Q34
opposite

If YES

(a) What do you think are the reasons?

If has been UNDEPLOYED AND LOOKING FOR WORK FOR 4 WEEKS or more

34. [When you were looking for work for ___ weeks] Did you go to a Government Employment Office or Government Job Centre (each time) to tell them you were out of work?

YES/Always
Sometimes
NO/Never

If only SOMETIMES or NO/NEVER

(a) Why didn't you (always) go to see them?
Why haven't you (always) gone

1 - Go to Q36 page 18
2 } Ask (a)
3 }

If has been UNEMPLOYED FOR 1 - 3 WEEKS at any time

35. [Then/Whenever you were/have been unemployed for a week or more] Did you go to a Government Employment Office or Government Job Centre (each time) to tell them you were out of work?

YES/Always
Sometimes
NO/Never

If only SOMETIMES or NO/NEVER

(a) Why didn't you (always) go to see them?
Why haven't you (always) gone

1 - Go to Q36 page 18
2 } Ask (a)
3 }

GO NOW TO Q36 page 18

36.

IF INFORMANT HAS LEFT ANY JOB

SINCE THE LAST INTERVIEW (ring)
 1 - Go to Q37 below
 ALL OTHERS 2 - See instructions
 at foot of page

37. I want now to ask you a few things about your last job.

When you left your last employer, did you leave of your
 own accord or were you dismissed or made redundant?

Left of own accord

1 - Go to Q38 below
 Dismissed 2 - Go to Q39
 page 19

Made redundant 3 - Go to Q41

page 21

Self-employed in last job

4 - Go to Q42

page 22

IF LEFT LAST EMPLOYER OF OWN ACCORD

38. What were your reasons for leaving?

IF DISMISSED FROM PREVIOUS JOB

39. What reasons did your employer give, for asking you to leave?

(PROBE FULLY)

No reason given

1 - Go to Q40
 page 20

Other answer

2 - Ask (a)
 (SPECIFY)

(a) Do you consider these were good enough reasons for asking you to go?

Yes

1 - see instructions
 DK 2 - at bottom of page

No

3 - Ask (b)

Other answer

4 - see instructions
 at bottom of page

(b) Do you think there were any other reasons for why you were asked to leave?

No

1 - see instructions
 DK 2 - below

Other answer

3 - see instructions
 (SPECIFY)

-1B-

If now HAS A FULL-TIME JOB - Go to Q42 page 22

If now UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q49 page 27

-19-

If now HAS A FULL-TIME JOB - Go to Q42 page 22

If now UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q49 page 27

40. What do you think were the reasons for your being asked to leave?

D K	
1 - see instructions at bottom of page	
Other answer	2 - Ask (a)
(SPECIFY)	

(a) Do you consider these were good enough reasons for asking you to go?

Yes	1 - see instructions below
Other answer	2 -
(SPECIFY)	

IF MADE REDUNDANT FROM PREVIOUS JOB

41. How was it decided who would have to leave?

Firm closed down - everyone had to go	1 - see instructions at bottom of page
Other answer	2 - Ask (a)
(SPECIFY)	
(a) Do you think it was fair to select you?	1 - Ask (b)
No	2 - see instructions at bottom of page
Yes	3 -
Other answer	(SPECIFY)
(SPECIFY)	
(b) In what way was it unfair?	

IF now HAS A FULL-TIME JOB - Go to Q42 page 22
If now UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q49 page 27

IF now HAS A FULL-TIME JOB - Go to Q42 page 22
If now UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q49 page 27

IF NOW HAS A FULL TIME JOB

42. How do you feel now about your (present) job?

Would you say that in general you are

very satisfied

fairly satisfied

or definitely not satisfied with it?

(RUNNING PROMPT)

1 - see instructions

2 - Ask (a)

3 -

If coded 2 or 3 above

(a) what are your reasons for not feeling

(very) satisfied with it?

Only if HAS STARTED A NEW JOB SINCE THE LAST INTERVIEW

43. How does your present job compare generally with your last one?

Would you say that on the whole it is better

(RUNNING PROMPT)

much the same

or not as good

as your last one?

If BETTER

(a)(i) In what ways is it better?

1 - Ask (a)(i)

and (ii)

2 - Go to

PAGE 25

3 - Ask (b)(i)

and (ii)

OPPOSITE

Yes

No

Other answer

(SPECIFY)

1 - Go now

to Q43(c)

OPPOSITE

2 - Go to

PAGE 25

3 -

(ring)

1 - Go to Q43 page 23

2 - Go to PAGE 25

If has STARTED A NEW JOB SINCE THE LAST INTERVIEW

ALL OTHERS

43(b) IF PRESENT JOB NOT AS GOOD AS PREVIOUS ONE

(1) In what ways is it not as good?

(11) Are there any ways in which your present job is better than the last one?

Yes
No
Other answer
(specify)

1 - Ask (c)
2 - Go to
PAGE 25
3 -

43(c) IF YES at a(11) or b(11)

In what ways is it (not as good as/better than) your last job?

44. WEST INDIANS ONLY

D N A : SELF-EMPLOYED

1 - Go to Q52
page 28

Are there any other West Indians employed at the same place as you, whom you usually meet most days in the course of your work?

YES
NO
Other answer
(specify)

1 - Go to Q45
2 - below
3 -

45.

A L L

D N A : SELF-EMPLOYED

1 - Go to Q52
page 28

Do you have any relatives who work for the same employer as yourself?

YES
NO
Other answer
(specify)

1
2
3

IF NOW HAS A FULL-TIME JOB

46. I should like now to talk about pay. How much did you get last week or month, after deduction of tax and national insurance, but including any overtime or bonuses (or tips)?

Pounds Pence
WEEKLY PAY (Including overtime)
MONTHLY PAY (Including overtime)

47. Did your last week's/month's pay include overtime?

Yes
No
1 - Ask (a)
2 - Go to Q48 below

IF YES

(a) How much would you have got, after deduction of tax and national insurance, if you had not worked any overtime?

Pounds Pence
WEEKLY PAY (Less overtime)
MONTHLY PAY (Less overtime)

DK

48. Thinking of the people at the place where you work who have the same kind of job as yourself. Do you consider you are paid fairly, compared with them?

Yes
No
1 - Go to Q57 page 28
2 - Ask (a)
3 - Go to Q52 page 28
4 - Other answer (specify)

IF NO

(a) In what ways are you paid unfairly?

IF NOW UNEMPLOYED

DNA - Was self-employed in last occupation

1

Go to Q52 OPPOSITE

49. I should like now to talk about the pay in your last job. How much did you get in the last week or month, after deduction of tax and national insurance, but including any overtime or bonuses (or tips)?

Pounds Pence
WEEKLY PAY (Including overtime)
MONTHLY PAY (Including overtime)

50. Did your last week's/month's pay include any overtime?

Yes
No
1 - Ask (a)
2 - Go to Q51 below

IF YES

(a) How much would you have got, after deduction of tax and national insurance, if you had not worked any overtime?

Pounds Pence
WEEKLY PAY (Less overtime)
MONTHLY PAY (Less overtime)

DK

51. Thinking of the people at the place where you last worked who had the same kind of job as yourself. Do you consider you were paid fairly, compared with them?

Yes
No
1 - Ask (a)
2 - Ask (a)
3 - No others doing same kind of job
4 - Other answer (specify)

IF NO

(a) In what ways were you paid unfairly?

GO NOW TO Q52 page 28

-27-

-26-

Has had at least one week's unemployment since last interview
(see Qns 34/35 on pages 16 - 17) . . .

and a) Went to Employment Office/Job Centre then
or mentioned having been previously 1 - Go to Q54
page 29

or b) Did NOT go to Employment Office/Job Centre
nor mention having been previously 2 - Go to Q53
below

All others 3

53. I am going now to ask you a few things about ways of finding jobs.

As you know, the Government helps people find new jobs through Employment Offices,
or Employment Exchanges as they used to be called. In recent years the Government
has also started up places called Job Centres.

These Employment Offices and Job Centres are different, of course, from the
Government Employment Office or Careers Offices which give advice about careers and
jobs to young people at school and when they first start work.

Can you tell me first, if you have ever been into either a Government Employment
Office or a Job Centre, to look for a job?

Yes 1 - Ask (a)

No 2

Go to Q58
page 30

Other answer
(specify)

If YES

a) Do you know the difference between
an Employment Office and a Job Centre?

Yes 1 - Go to Q55
page 29

No 2

Go to Q57
page 30

Other answer
(specify)

54. I am going now to ask you a few things about ways of finding jobs.

As you know, the Government helps people find new jobs through Employment
Offices, or Employment Exchanges as they used to be called. In recent years
the Government has also started up places called Job Centres.

These Employment Offices and Job Centres are different, of course, from the
Government Employment Office or Careers Offices which give advice about careers
and jobs to young people at school and when they first start work.

What I should first like to ask is do you know the difference between a
Government Employment Office and a Job Centre?

Yes

1 - Go to Q55
below

No

2 - Go to Q57
opposite

Other answer
(specify)

55. What would you say are the main differences between them?

56. Have you been into both kinds of place, to look for a job?

Yes	1 - Go to Q58
No	2 - Ask (a)
Other answer (specify)	3 - Go to Q57

IF YES

(a) Which of the two have you been to?

Employment Office	1 - Go to Q58
Job Centre	2 -

57. Can you tell me if the last place you went into was called an Employment Office or a Job Centre?

Employment Office	1 - Go to Q58
Job Centre	2 - below
D K	3 - Go to Q62
	4 - Page 32

58. Have you ever been into a private employment agency, to look for a job?

Yes	1
No	2
Other answer (specify)	3

59. If has been to TWO OR MORE types of place (Employment Office/Job Centre/Private Employment Agency)

1 -	Go to Q60
2 -	page 31
3 -	Go to Q64
4 -	page 33

ALL OTHERS

60. Which of the places you have been into, to ask about jobs, have you found to be the most helpful?

Was it the . . . (PROMPT from below only those offices which infant has actually visited)

THE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE	1
OF THE JOB CENTRE	2
OF THE PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCY	3

Go to Q61 below

Both/all equally helpful/unhelpful
Other answer (Specify)

4	Go to Q64
5	page 33

61. In what ways did you find the (Employment Office/Job Centre/Private Employment Agency) more helpful?

62. Have you ever been into a private employment agency to look for a job?

Yes	1 - Go to Q63
No	2 - Go to Q64 Page 33
Other answer (specify)	3 -

63. Which of the places you have been into, to ask about jobs, have you found to be the most helpful?

Was it the Government Office or the private employment agency?

The Government Office	1 -
The Private Employment Agency	2 - Ask (a)
Both equally helpful/unhelpful	3 - Go to Q64 Page 33
Other answer (specify)	4 -

a) In what ways did you find the (Government Office/Private Employment Agency) more helpful?

64(a) I should like you now to look at this card (give Prompt Card A to informant) which shows various ways by which a person might get a new job.

If informant HAS A JOB	If you wanted to change your present job, what do you think would be your <u>most likely</u> way of getting a new one?
If currently UNEMPLOYED	What do you think will be your <u>most likely</u> way of getting a new job?

<p>If more than one method is indicated, ask informant to say which would be the <u>most likely</u></p> <p>By WRITING in answer to an advertisement</p> <p>By PHONING in answer to an advertisement</p> <p>By going round (or 'phoning or writing') to see if employers have a vacancy</p> <p>With the help of a Friend or Relative</p>	Thru' an Employment Office or Job Centre	1
	Thru' a Private Employment Agency	2
	Ask (b)	3
		4
		5
		6
	Other answer (Specify)	7 - see instructions Bottom of page

(b) Why do you think you (would/will) stand a better chance of getting a job....., than through any of the other methods mentioned on the card?

65.

IF WORST DISCRIMINATION HAS BEEN WHEN ACTUALLY IN A JOB

67. Who have you found to be the most likely to discriminate against you?

Has it been

(R U N N I N G P R O M P T)

the people in charge

OR your fellow workers?

Both equal

Other answer (specify)

Yes 1 - Ask (a)
No 2 } Go now
to Q70
3 } page 39
Other answer
(specify)

IF YES

(a) Can you give me an example?

68. Have you ever been treated badly because of being a West Indian, in any other situation - apart from things to do with your employment?

69. Would you say, on balance, that the discrimination you have met with in connection with your employment, has been

(RUNNING PROMPT)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | worse |
| 2 | about the same |
| 3 | or not as bad |
| | as the discrimination you have met elsewhere? |
| 4 | Other answer (specify) |

70. As far as you can tell, would you say that discrimination against West Indians in employment has, over the past 5 years since you left school, become

(RUNNING PROMPT)

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| | less |
| | remained about the same |
| | or got worse? |
| D K | |
| Other answer (specify) | |

If says discrimination less/worse

a) In what ways has it (become less/got worse)?

71. Would you say that your personal views about racial discrimination have changed in any (other) way, since leaving school?

Yes	1 - Ask (a)
No	2
Other answer (specify)	3

If YES

a) In what way have your views changes?

72. Do you think there is anything more that the Government could do to help stop discrimination against West Indians, in employment?

Yes	1 - Ask (a)
No	2 <input type="checkbox"/> Go to Q74
Other answer (specify)	3 <input type="checkbox"/> page 43

If YES

(a) What do you think the Government could do?

GO NOW TO Q74 on page 43

IF HAS NEVER MET WITH DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

73. Have you ever been treated badly because of being West Indian, in any other situation - apart from things to do with employment?

Yes	1 - Ask (a) & (b)
No	2 - Ask (b)
Other answer (specify)	3 -

(a) Can you give me an example?

(b) Would you say that your personal views about racial discrimination have changed in any way since leaving school?

Yes	1 - Ask (c)
No	2 - Go to Q74
Other answer (specify)	3 - Page 43

(c) In what way have your views changed?

J O B
R A N K I N G

If informant is a MAN use BLUE cards
If informant is a GIRL use PINK cards

74. "I am now going to give you a set of cards. Each one shows somebody's job."

(HAND JOB CARDS TO INPT or SPREAD THEM OUT IN FRONT OF HIM/HER)

"Have a look at them and tell me who

you think has got the best job."

Please pass me his/her card."

IF THERE ARE ANY JOBS INPT
DOES NOT KNOW ABOUT - GIVE
APPROPRIATE DEFINITION FROM
REVERSE OF CARD B

(PRINT THE NAME OF THE JOB AGAINST "1" ON PROMPT CARD B)

"Now give me the card for the person with the next best job."

(PRINT THE NAME AGAINST "2" ON THE CARD)

"And the next?"

(CONTINUE UNTIL ALL 10 JOBS HAVE BEEN RANKED)

If now HAS A JOB - Go to Q75 below

If UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q76 opposite

75. (IF INPT'S PRESENT JOB IS ONE OF THOSE LISTED, PUT A TICK AGAINST THAT JOB IN THE "OWN JOB" COLUMN ON CARD B - THEN SEE INSTRUCTIONS BOTTOM OF PAGE)

OR IF INPT'S JOB IS N.O.T ONE OF THOSE LISTED, GIVE PROMPT CARD B TO INPT AND SAY)

"I should like you now to tell me whereabouts you would put your present

job. Would you please put a tick in the first column . . . (POINT TO IT)

against the job which you consider to be about as good as your own - or

put a tick wherever you think your job would fit in between the others."

If infmt is a MAN - Go now to Q77 on page 45

If infmt is a GIRL - Go now to Q78 on page 46

IF UNEMPLOYED

IF INMNT'S LAST JOB IS THE ONE HE/SHE HAD AT THE LAST INTERVIEW (ring) 1 Enter details below, from EDIT SHEET, then see instructions (b)
ALL OTHERS 2 Ask (a)

76.

(a) "Can you tell me what kind of work you were doing in your last job?"

Description of occupation	OFF USE
Industry	

(b)

(IF THE ABOVE JOB IS ONE OF THOSE LISTED, PUT A TICK AGAINST THAT JOB IN THE "OWN JOB" COLUMN ON CARD B - THEN SEE INSTRUCTIONS AT BOTTOM OF PAGE

OR

IF THE ABOVE JOB IS NOT ONE OF THOSE LISTED, GIVE PROMPT CARD B TO INMNT AND SAY)

"I should like you now to tell me whereabouts you would put your last job. Would you please put a tick in the first column . . . (POINT TO IT) against the job which you consider to be about as good as your own - or put a tick wherever you think your last job would fit in between the others."

MEN ONLY

77. "Can you tell me what is your father's present job?"

IF FATHER UNEMPLOYED/RETIRED
RECORD USUAL JOB

Has no father/father dead

1

Go to Q79
page 47

Description of occupation	OFF USE
Industry	

(IF FATHER'S JOB IS ONE OF THOSE LISTED, TAKE CARD B AND PUT A TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX IN THE "FATHER'S JOB" COLUMN - THEN SEE INSTRUCTIONS AT BOTTOM OF PAGE

OR

IF FATHER'S JOB IS NOT ONE OF THOSE LISTED, SAY)

"I should like you now to show whereabouts you would put your father's job, in the list, by putting a tick in the second column . . . (POINT TO IT) against the job which you consider to be about as good as your father's - or put a tick wherever you think his job would fit in between the others."

(THEN TAKE CARD FROM INMNT AND CHECK THAT ONE TICK ONLY APPEARS IN EACH COLUMN)

If Inform is a MAN - Go now to Q77 on page 45
If Inform is a GIRL - Go now to Q78 on page 46

GO NOW TO Q79 page 47

GIRLS ONLY

76. "Does your mother have a full-time paid job?"

Yes No Mother dead If YES (a) "Can you tell me what kind of work your mother does?"	1 - Ask (a)
	2 - Go to Q79
	3 - Page 47
Description of occupation	OFF USE
Industry	

(IF MOTHER'S JOB IS ONE OF THOSE LISTED, TAKE CARD B AND PUT A TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX IN THE "MOTHER'S JOB" COLUMN - THEN GO TO Q79 on page 47)

OR

IF MOTHER'S JOB IS NOT ONE OF THOSE LISTED, SAY

"I should like you now to show whereabouts you would put your mother's job, in the list, by putting a tick in the second column . . . (POINT TO IT) against the job which you consider to be about as good as your mother's - or put a tick wherever you think her job would fit in between the others".

(THEN TAKE CARD FROM INFMT AND CHECK THAT ONE TICK ONLY APPEARS IN EACH COLUMN)

-46-

ALL

79(a) SEE ITEM III ON EDIT SHEET

Job hoped to be doing in 5 years time:

(b) SEE Qns 2, 3 and 5 on pages 3 and 4

IF JOB AT LAST INTERVIEW OR NEW JOB IS SAME AS HOPED TO BE DOING IN FIVE YEARS TIME
 1 - Opposite
 2 - below

ALL OTHERS

80(a) When we first saw you after you left school, you were asked what you hoped to be doing in five years time. You said then that you hoped to be (SEE QN 79(a) ABOVE)

Can I just check: did you ever get to be ?

Yes 1
 No 2 Ask (b)
 Other answer 3
 (specify)

(b) Looking back, how do you now feel about your original ambition?

GO NOW TO Q82 on page 49

-47-

SEE ITEM III ON EDIT SHEET

81. When we first saw you, shortly after you left school, you were asked what you hoped to be doing in 5 years time. You said then that you hoped to be (SEE Qn 79 (a) opposite)

Looking back, how do you now feel about your original ambition?

S E E ON EDIT SHEET	ITEM IV	If doing FE Course at time of last interview	YES	NO	(ring) 1 - Ask Q83 below 2 - Go to Q84 opposite

82.

83. When we last came to see you on _____ (date of LAST INTERVIEW)
I believe you were doing _____ (type of course/s)
in/for _____ (qualifications/subjects).

Are you still doing this/these course/s?

RECORD DETAILS OF COURSE/S
STILL ATTENDING/DOING, BELOW:

YES (Still doing
at least ONE)
NO

1
2 - Go to Q84
on page 50

(1)

Quals. studying for/subjects studying		OFF USE
Evening	1	
Day Release	2	
Correspondence	3	
Sandwich/Block Release	4	
Full-time	5	
OTHER (describe)	6	

(2)

Evening	1	
Day Release	2	
Correspondence	3	
Sandwich/Block Release	4	
Full-time	5	
OTHER (describe)	6	

(3)

Evening	1	
Day Release	2	
Correspondence	3	
Sandwich/Block Release	4	
Full-time	5	
OTHER (describe)	6	

84. Since we last came to see you on _____ (date of LAST INTERVIEW, have you started any (other) course of further education? That is, a full-time, sandwich, block release, day release, evening, correspondence or other similar course?

Yes _____
No _____
1 - Ask (a)
2 - Go to Q85 page 51

IF YES

(a) What type of course?

Then (in respect of each course mentioned) ask:

(i) Are you still doing the course?

(ii) What qualifications or examinations are you studying (did you study) for?

(DISREGARD COURSES RUN BY FIRMS FOR THEIR OWN EMPLOYEES ONLY)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	OFF USE
(1)	Evening	Day release	Correspondence	Sandwich/Block Release	Full-time	OTHER (describe)	OFF USE
	Qualifications aimed at (describe in full): If none, give subjects studied						OFF USE
	If still attending course						Yes 1 No 2
(2)	Evening	Day release	Correspondence	Sandwich/Block Release	Full-time	OTHER (describe)	OFF USE
	Qualifications aimed at (describe in full): If none, give subjects studied						OFF USE
	If still attending course						Yes 1 No 2
(3)	Evening	Day release	Correspondence	Sandwich/Block Release	Full-time	OTHER (describe)	OFF USE
	Qualifications aimed at (describe in full): If none, give subjects studied						OFF USE
	If still attending course						Yes 1 No 2

-50-

85. S E E ITEM V
ON EDIT SHEET

If awaiting results of exams at time of last interview

YES
NO

(ring)
1 - Ask Q86 below
2 - Go to Q87 opposite

86. When we last came to see you, you were still waiting for the results of _____ (type) exams in _____ (subject/s).

Can you tell me now what your results were?

TYPE OF EXAM eg GCE A/O level, RSA list subject/s taken state level or Part No	FULL NAME OF QUALIFICATION/COURSE or (if GCE) individual subjects taken	RESULT Pass - Fail and/or Grade	FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
OFF USE			
If NOT GCE state if FINAL STAGE			
Yes 1 No 2			
OFF USE			
If NOT GCE state if FINAL STAGE			
Yes 1 No 2			
OFF USE			
If NOT GCE state if FINAL STAGE			
Yes 1 No 2			

-51-

89. What do you now think about the advice given to you by the Youth Employment or Careers Officer about your education or choice of job?

Would you say the advice was

(R U N N I N G P R O M P T)	very helpful	1 - Go to Q90 page 55
	fairly helpful	2 - Ask (a)
	or not at all helpful?	3 -

Did not see Y/E/Careers
Officer or Can't remember
Other answer (specify)

a) In what ways do you think the Careers Officer should have given you (better) advice?

90. Do you think your parents should have given you better advice about your education and choice of job?

Yes	1 - Ask (a)
No	2 - Go to Q91
Other answer (specify)	3 - opposite

If YES

a) In what ways could they have given you better advice?

91. Looking back now, who would you say gave you the best advice about things to do with your education; like what subjects to take at school, when to leave school, and whether to go on to full-time further education?

Was the best advice given by

(R U N N I N G P R O M P T)	your teachers	1
	your parents	2
	or the Youth Employment or Careers Officer?	3
	No-one gave any/useful advice Other answer (specify)	4 5

92. Who gave you the best advice about your choice of job or career?
Was it

(R U N N I N G P R O M P T)

(R U N N I N G P R O M P T)	your teachers	1
	your parents	2
	or the Youth Employment or Careers Officer?	3
	No-one gave any/useful advice Other answer (specify)	4 5

93. What general advice would you now give to a young person about when to leave school, whether to go on to full-time education, and what kind of job to go for?

--

94. Finally, I should like to know if you think there is anything the Government could do to improve employment opportunities for young people generally?

Yes	1 - Ask (a)
No	2
Other answer (specify)	3

If YES

(a) What do you think the Government could do?

95. Is there anything else you would like to say about your present or future employment?

Yes (record below)

1

No

2

1
2

SEE ITEM VI ON EDIT SHEET	Marital status at last interview	SINGLE	1 - Ask Q97
		MARRIED	2 - Go to Q98

97. Before we finish: can I just check if you are now married or single?

98. DOES INFORMANT STILL LIVE AT THE SAME ADDRESS AS HIS/HER PARENTS?	SINGLE 1 MARRIED 2 - If infmt is female, ask for married name and write below IN BLOCK LETTERS, PLEASE	Yes	1
		No	2

99. Thank you very much for your patience and for all the help you have given us with this survey. We have learned a great deal from the many young people who have taken part that will help the Department of Employment to improve opportunities for school leavers in the future.

You will probably be pleased to know that this is the last time we shall be bothering you.

Thank you again for your help.

[illegible]

CARD A

FATHER'S JOB

[illegible]

197

- In a branch of a bank like Lloyds or Barclays etc,
- not in a Post Office.

- In a garage.

- Makes detailed technical drawings and plans.

- Installs and repairs electrical wiring and electrical appliances in buildings.

- Installs and repairs telephones and other types of telephone equipment.

- Makes things out of sheet metal, such as car body panels.

- Not a cashier or shelf-filler.

- Prepares and adjusts lathes or other machines used for shaping, drilling or grinding engineering components.

- Works out people's wages and deals with tax and other deductions.

Someone who operates welding equipment in a factory or on a building site, joining metal parts together.

42313 APCs 9/96

[illegible]

Please put a tick (✓) to show the position of

OWN JOB

MOTHER'S JOE

CARD B

[illegible]

(S 465)

- In a branch of a bank like Lloyds or Barclays etc.
- not in a Post Office.

- Any typist other than an audio or shorthand typist.

Factory assembler - Person who does simple fixing together of parts in the mass production of electrical or other goods.

- Files away documents and (often) also maintains a card-index or other system of classification of records.

Ladies hairdresser - Cuts, shampoos and styles ladies' hair.

Nurse (SRN) - Qualified (State Registered) hospital nurse; not a nursery or dental nurse.

Secretary - Shorthand, typing and other clerical and general assistance to an office manager/executive.

Shop assistant - Not a cashier or shelf-filler.

Telephonist - Operates a telephone switchboard.

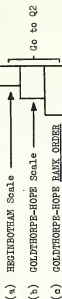
- Works out people's wages and deals with tax and other deductions.

9/16 5:50 PM 9/16

1. See Qns 3, 5 or 76 in LEAVER'S 4th INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

CLASSIFY present/last job

(at 4th Interview) on :-



(a) HEGINBOTHAM Scale

(b) GOLDTHORPE-HOPPE Scale

(c) GOLDTHORPE-HOPPE RANK ORDER

YOUNG PEOPLE'S EMPLOYMENT STUDY

SUPPLEMENTARY CODING SCHEDULE No.2

[RELATIVE TO YEO INTERVIEW AND
BOTH THE FIRST AND THE FOURTH
OF OUR INTERVIEWS WITH LEAVER]

DNA TO
ALL QNS

Serial No.									
------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

1

[code 2 or 3 at Q1(a)
2 or 3 at Q2 at Q3(a)
2nd 4th Int Sch.]

Name of Leaver

--

NOTES

- (1) If YEO Schedule is not available, refer to Qns 21-32 in the LEAVER'S Schedule to ascertain if any of the missing information (about YEO's opinion of leaver's present/last job or the job he had hoped to get, etc) can be filled in from the information furnished by the leaver. If not, then ring code for "no record" at the appropriate questions. Check that this agrees with coding in Supplementary Coding Schedule No.1

- (ii) To be SINGLE-CODED THROUGHOUT and PRIORITY CODE where appropriate.

2. See Qns 3, 5 or 76 in LEAVER'S 4th INTERVIEW SCHEDULE. Qns 2, 7, 25 or 26 in LEAVER'S 1st INTERVIEW SCHEDULE and Qns 2-3 in YEO SCHEDULE

If present/last job at 4th interview is in
an occupation which is the SAME AS :-

a) HOPED TO ENTER WHEN LEAVING SCHOOL:-

DNA (OK what wanted
to do/ not made
up mind between
alternatives/NA)

YES

NO

UNCERTAIN (because of
diffic of definition)

1 - Go to (b)

2 - Go to Q3

3 - Go to (b)

4 -

b) PRESENT/LAST JOB AT FIRST INTERVIEW:-

DNA (Had not yet had
a job at 1st Int)

YES

NO

UNCERTAIN (because of
diffic of definition)

1 - Go to (c)

2 - Go to Q3

3 - Go to (c)

4 -

c) HAD EXPRESSED INTEREST IN TO YEO:-

DNA (No record of jobs
in which interested)

YES

NO

UNCERTAIN (because of
diffic of definition)

1 -

2 - Go to Q3

3 -

4 -

3. See 30.37 in LEAVER'S 1st INT. SCHEDULE & Qns 79/80 in LEAVER'S 4th INT. SCHEDULE

(a) If occupation in present/last job at 4th interview is the SAME AS AMBITION IN 5 YEARS TIME (at 1st interview) :-

DIA (No definite ambition about job in 5 yrs time - coded 5 at Q79(b) in 4th interview schedule)	
1 - Go to Q4	
YES	1 - Go to (b)
NO	2

(b) Enter SUMMARY CODE recorded at Qn 80(b) in 4th Interview Schedule Go to (c)

(c) Is code at (a) above compatible with code at (b) :-	
YES	1 - Go to Q4
NO	2 - Go to (d)

(d) Code below the reason not countable :-	
Ambition in 5 years time is in same line of work but at a higher level than present/last job at 4th int	1 - Go to Q4
Ambition in 5 years time is in same line of work but in a different industry or specialisation to present/last job at 4th interview	2

NOTE: If reason fits into neither of the above precedes - show to supervisor

4. Examine Part E of TEACHER'S Schedule and record of PE in all LEAVER'S Schedules

a) Before leaving school, had the leaver obtained :-

(i) any VOCATIONAL qualification directly relevant to his/her occupation as at the 4th interview	YES NO	1 - Go to (ii) 2
(ii) any other VOCATIONAL qualification	YES NO	1 - Go to (b) 2
b) Has the leaver ever attended a course of full-time or part-time Further Education (including nursing training)	YES NO	1 - Go to (c) 2 - FINISH HERE
c) Has the leaver obtained through PE :-		
(i) any VOCATIONAL qualification directly relevant to his/her occupation as at the 4th interview	YES NO	1 - Go to (ii) 2
(ii) any other VOCATIONAL qualification	YES NO	1 - Go to (iii) 2
(iii) any ACADEMIC ('O' or 'A' level) qualification	YES NO	1 - Go to (d) 2 - FINISH HERE
d) Does (do) the additional ACADEMIC qual(s) now place the leaver in a higher position on the HEBETHORP Scale	YES NO	1 - Go to (e) 2 - FINISH HERE
e) CLASSIFY leaver's current level of academic qualifications on HEBETHORP SCALE		<input type="text"/>

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The West Indian School Leaver
Volume 1: Starting Work

Ken Sillitoe and Howard Meltzer

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After sketching leavers' general background and attitudes to employment, subsequent chapters examine the nature of their first job and their level of satisfaction with it, their ambitions and how they were modified, the role of the Careers Service, parents and teachers, and further part-time education after school.

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